

THE WHOLE
Critical WORKS
 OF
Monsieur RAPIN,
 In Two Volumes.

V O L. I.

Containing,

- I. *ACOMPARISON between Demosthenes and Cicero, for Eloquence.*
- II. --- *Homer and Virgil, for Poetry.*
- III. --- *Thucydides and Livy, for History.*
- IV. --- *Plato and Aristotle, for Philosophy; with the Opinions of the Wise-Men of all Ages upon their DOCTRINE, and the different Adventures of their Sects.*

Newly Translated into ENGLISH,
 By *BASIL KENNET, D.D.* late President
 of *Corpus Christi College, Oxon;* and Others.

The Second Edition.

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THE
PREFACE
OF THE
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WHILE France aspires to be Absolute in Arts and Empire, our Nation, that so well disputes the double Prize with its Neighbours, has, at the same time, made use of their Industry, to set Bounds to their Ambition, has Studied their Criticks, to Exceed their Authors, and Practis'd their Martial Discipline, to Maintain its Advantage over them in Courage and Strength. Among their late Masters of politer Criticism, none has found a Kinder Entertainment, and more General Esteem, than Monsieur Rapin. He has long Dictated in this Part of Letters. He is acknowledg'd, as the Great Arbitrator between the Merit of the Best Writers; and during the Course of almost Thirty Years, there have been few Appeals from his Sentence. The vast Extent of his Undertaking, has not hinder'd it from being regularly concerted. It seems to stand in a just Mixture of Example and Precept, which are the truest Comments on each other; the Comparisons enliven the Reflections, and the Reflections support the Comparisons. Tho' we may have receiv'd from other Hands some more choice

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and curious Remarks on particular Subjects ; as on Poesie, (for Instance,) from Monsieur Boileau, and my Lord Roscommon, from the French Preface to the Aeneis, and the English Essay on the Georgics ; yet Mr. Rapin is still perhaps the ablest Guide thro' the whole Circle of Fine Learning, and has open'd such a View into the several Methods of Study and Composure, as cannot but be highly serviceable to All that would judge of them, and to those few who shall be so Happy as to Exercise them. Of his Critical Works, a Version is here offer'd entirely New, except of one Treatise in each Volume ; the Comparison between Thucydides and Livy in the First, and the Reflections upon Poetry in the Second ; both which come recommended to us from so Skilful Hands, and are so much above our Improvement in themselves, that they deserv'd to be our Pattern in the rest.

The Learned Person who oblig'd the English Reader with the latter of those Pieces, increas'd his own Honour, by advancing that of his Native Country. The Judicious Preface, with which he adorn'd his Translation, gave him almost as eminent a Name among the English Criticks, as his Author held among the French. And, the Occasion here inviting us, why may we not carry on the Survey thro' the other Parts, and attempt the doing that Justice to the Eloquence, History and Philosophy, which he has done to the Poetry of his Nation ; tho' with unequal Ability in the Undertakers, yet certainly with like Advantage in the Subjects ? As he has dated the Excellency of our Poetry from Spencer, may not we derive that of our Oratory from Sir Philip Sidney ; among whose Glories, it is not the least to have been the first Refiner of English Prose, the Charm of his Measures and Cadence, giving a new Grace to so noble Images, so sweet Affections, and so Bright a Wit ? If, as he is wont to be censur'd, he may discover some Froth of Expression, or some Dregs of improbable Fiction, yet he shines thro' his Disadvantages :

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His Foam is Amber, and his Gravel Gold.

Whom yet the Ever-Venerable Mr. Hooker, in the same happy Reign, exceeded as much in the Force and Compass of his Style, as in the Weight of his Argument and Dignity of his Institution. He has join'd together the Majesty and Simplicity, so much admir'd in the Greatest Ancients; and his Reasons are not more invincible than his Composure inimitable. The Reign of King James I. (if we except out of it my Lord Bacon, that one Noble Speaker, as Ben Johnson terms him,) was rather Learned than Eloquent. The Publick Miseries which were then fatally breeding, and which afterwards broke out with so unnatural Violence, as they corrupted the Reason of Men, so they debas'd their very Phrase. The Barbarous Multitude, the Goths and Vandals of the Time, were no less furiously engag'd against Arts and Knowledge, than Order and Discipline; and in both Respects,

* Lavish'd out all their Hate, as if they meant
In future Ages to be Innocent.

The Rebels had the greatest Orator to contend with in the Person of the King, and were always foil'd by his Eloquence, among the Misfortunes of his Arms. The Speeches, the Letters, the Disputes and Conferences, but above all, the Divine Meditations of the Royal Martyr, afford a mutual Testimony to each other, as they are all compos'd in a Style that truly represents Majesty in Adversity, the most Genuine Greatness, and most Devout Humility;

* Plague of Athens.

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† It's Mighty Master's Emblem, in whose Face
Sat Meekness, heighten'd with Majestick Grace.

*It were happy, if the Authors of those Troubles had shar'd more largely in the general Ignorance and Rudeness which they produc'd. Indeed, the Usurper himself had no other Talents, but what Pliny describes in a Cheat of his time, || an ungracious Aspect, an unready Tongue, a disturb'd and extravagant Imagination: And therefore, tho', by force of Impudence, or Madness, he prevail'd on many to think him an Orator, yet he was such, only according to the inverted Definition, * an ill Man, unskill'd in speaking. But then too many of those who prepar'd the way for his unlawful Greatness, were † Men eloquent at the publick Cost, || who made the worst use of the best Wits, and who, if they could have confin'd their desire of Honours and Preferments within any bounds, whatsoever they propos'd to gain by their Rebellion, the Government would have offer'd to their Obedience. The Power of Oratory, in misguiding the Turbulent and Seditious, and inflaming Publick Dissention, has, with some, brought an imputation upon the Art it self: And, as a late Philosopher * will scarce admit the Art of Rhetorick*

† Cooper's Hill.

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|| Os confusum, hæsitans lingua, &c. nihil denique præter ingenium insanum: tamen eò impudentiâ. ipsoq; illo furore pervénit, ut à plurimis Orator habeatur. *Plin L. iv. Epist. vii.*

* Vir malus, dicendi impetrus. *ibid*

† Paterc. L. ii. C. xlviii. C. Curio, homo ingeniosissimè nequam & facundus malo publico.

|| Viri optimis ingeniis malè usi, qui si civilem dignitatis concupissent modum, quicquid tumultuando adipisci gestierunt, quietis obtulisset respublica. *Idem de Gracchis. L. ii. C. vii.*

* Mr. Lock's Essay of Human Understanding, B. iii. C. x.

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to a better Title than the Art of deceiving, so an ancient Master † has affirm'd that great and remarkable Eloquence is the Foster child of that Licentiousness which Fools calls Liberty. The Raisers und Fomenters of Popular Tumults, whatever change they have made in the old Question, whether any but a Good Man can be an Orator, have, at least, rendred this incontestable, that none but a good Man ought to be so.

With King Charles the Second's Return, commenc'd the Augustan Age of our Language. And that Oratory, as well as Poetry, had a share in this Improvement, will appear, if we consider either that of the Bar, or that of the Pulpit. What can be a more illustrious Evidence of the Former, than those Noble Families, which then held the highest Station in the Laws, and Publick Councils, whose Eloquence has not only descended with their Honours, but increas'd them? The Oratory of the Pulpit owes its Advance and Accomplishment to the same Peaceful Days : and more particularly to the Re-establishment of Quiet and Order in the Famous Universities; where after the Times of Confusion, || the Minds of Good Men retir'd into those Places of Purity and Innocence, and enjoy'd the Sacred Seats. These were the Fountains of Eloquence, and these will maintain its Streams. It is here, the Candidates of Eloquence, the Youth that are now * at the Anvil of Study, prepare and polish those Works that are to shine in after Ages; while they proceed as well in their Pursuits of Knowledge, as Exercises of Wit, upon that Maxim which they have heard from a Professor eminent in both, He that can find charming Beauties in an Heathen Au-

† Magna ista & notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiæ, quam stulti libertatem vocant. *Dialog. de Orator.*

|| Secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia, fruiturq; sedibus sacris, — hæc eloquentiæ primordia, hæc penetralia. *Dialog. de Orat.*

* Juvènes, & in ipsâ studiorum incude positi. *ibid.*

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thor, and none in the Holy Scriptures, has not yet the Genius of a Christian. *The Vein of Preaching which has ran so pure since the Happy Restoration, that compacted strength of Reason, that just and natural Method, that Harmony of Words and Thoughts, that Devotion without Rapture, that Affection without Violence, that Easiness which is not Mean, that Authority which is not Assuming, may contend, in the Praise of Sacred Eloquence, with all Rivals of all Countries and Times.* Nor will he be charg'd with Injury to the Fathers of the Primitive Church, or Flattery to those of our own, who shall affirm that we have seen at one time more than one Patriarch, who in the Pulpit was not less than a Chrysostome. Mr. Rapin does not fail to tell us of Wonders perform'd by the French Preachers. Two especially, as well in regard to their distinguish'd Talent, as for the Honour of his own Order, he has drawn at full length, and finish'd them with all his Art and Colours. But if, as he directs us, we appeal to their printed Works for the Attestation of their Merit, we shall find that those Eminent Persons, tho' accomplish'd in every thing that their Language or Genius will permit, yet in judicious and solid Decisions, in Weight and Dignity of Expression, in a masculine Modesty as well as Beauty, with whatever else is necessary, * to give the Face, and not the Picture of Eloquence, do by no means out-shine those Lights of our Nation and Age, who are as obvious to our Admiration, as they are above our Character. Who those are (says a Patron, and Example, of Modern Learning,) who have succeeded the Hookers, the Chillingworths, the Sanderasons, and the Hammonds of the last Age, to such excellent purpose for the Present, and those that shall come after, I need not name, but shall rather conclude with that saying of *Velleius Paterculus*, upon a not much unlike Occasion, *Vivorum ut admiratio magna,*

* *Faciem eloquentiæ, non imaginem præstare. Dial. de Orat.*

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*ita censura difficilis †. It is not credible that Posterity should speak of English Sermons, without doing Right to the most solidly Instructive, and sublimely Eloquent, that the Church or University could receive from the Publick Orator of both. The compleat Learning of Dr. Maurice, animated with so much true Vigour of Wit and Style, has been happily follow'd by the late unanswerable Defences of the Church of England against the same reviv'd Notions, and pretended Rights. As this Age applauds the inexhausted store of things and words in Dr. Barrow, the next will acknowledge that one of his Learned Successors began the Reputation of Mr. Boyle's Lecture. The refin'd Thought, and choice Manner which we admire in the Writings of the late Dean of Sarum, those who come after us will affirm to have been continued in other Ornaments of the same Church. Nor will the Respect which is so justly paid to the clear Vein of Argument, and excellent Spirit of Dr. Calamy, be denied to the natural Persuasiveness, the easie and popular Reason, of the Friend who perform'd the good Office at his Funeral. An Encomium of the Living is not to be offer'd but under some Disguise, such as may cover it at once from Publick Envy and Private Modesty. We are not to congratulate the Happiness of a Divinity-Chair, or attempt the Character of an English Professor; but we may repeat what we have read of a Philosophical School, and of a Professor at Rome. * Euphrates dis-*

† *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning. C. xxix.*

* *Plin. L. i. Epist. x. Euphrates disputat subtiliter, graviter, ornatè; frequenter etiam Platoniam illam sublimitatem & latitudinem effingit. Sermo est copiosus & varius, dulcis in primis, & qui repugnantes quoque ducat & impellat. Nullus horror in vultu, nulla tristitia, multum severitatis: reverearis occursum, non reformides. Vitæ sanctitas summa, comitas par. Insectatur vitia, non homines; nec castigat errantes, sed emendat. Sequaris monentem attentus, & pendens; & persuadere tibi etiam quum persuaserit cupias. Mihi tamen hoc unum non persuadet, latius esse ista facere, quàm cum illo dies totos audiendo discendoq; consumere.*

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putes with Gravity, Subtilty, and Accuracy; and upon many occasions shews himself equal to the Height and Compass of *Plato's* Style. His Language is rich and copious, but especially sweet and attractive, and such as Prejudice it self is unable to resist. There's nothing of Rigour or Moroseness in his Aspect, but a great deal of true Severity. You could not meet him without Reverence; but you might without Terror: His Countenance would awe, but not abash or discompose yours. The Strictness of his Life is endear'd by the no less remarkable Affability of his Manners. He distinguishes the Vice from the Person; and does not censure but reform. You'd be all Ear at his Discourses; and after you was perfectly convinc'd, would covet the Pleasure of a New Conviction. There's one thing only, of which he can never convince me; that 'tis better to do *any thing* than to pass whole Days in attending him, and ever to hear a Man by whom I might ever learn and improve. *As the Foreign Orators have need of all their Action, to compensate the Inequality of their Composition, so the English, while they neglect not that Part, are yet chiefly employ'd in strengthening and adorning this. For nothing can long influence the Will that does not satisfy the Judgment, nor can that Flame survive this Fuel: And tho' we should grant that Sound without Sense might persuade, yet then the Persuasion dies with the Sound. It is natural to carry on these Advantages from the Bar, the Pulpit, and the Chair, to the Senate-house and the Throne; the Speeches deliver'd from both, in the Late and the Present Reign, being incomparably superior to those diffus'd and formal Harangues, in which others have so long triumph'd. When so Great Originals shall be faithfully set down in the Records of Time, they will be nobler Testimonies of the Eloquence of a Nation, than could have been given by the feign'd and studied Discourses of any Writers, howsoever exquisitely perform'd, by a*

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Thucydides or a Salust, a Lord Bacon or Herbert.

*If we thus pass from Oratory to History, tho' the two Noble Authors last mention'd have deserv'd greatly of it, yet that they should fill up all its measures, the time of their Writing might alone have forbidden, more distant on the one side from the Transactions they relate, than on the other from the last improvement of our Tongue. It is the Remark of my Lord Bacon himself, that * the History of Time, especially more ancient than the Age of the Writers, does often fail in the Memory of Things, and contains blank Spaces, which the Wit and Conjecture of the Writer uses to seize upon and fill up: And it may be presum'd, that neither he, nor his noble Follower, have always denied themselves this Privilege of their excellent Wit. For, may we not often observe some Great Person of their Story, not only speaking with their Eloquence, but acting by their Capacity, which render'd them the Ministers, as well as Historians, of former Reigns? The Character of their respective Styles, may seem to bear a Resemblance to that of the two Kings; the one shewing more Gravity, Caution and Artifice, the other a more natural Freedom, and a bolder Neglect. With this Illustrious Pair of Historians, are deservedly join'd in common Esteem, two other Gentlemen of admirable Wit and Eloquence, Mr. Samuel Daniel, and Sir William Temple, who as they have adorn'd the same remote Period, from our first Originals, to the End of the Conqueror's Reign, so they have as much agreement in the weight of their Reflections, the copiousness and vigour of their Elocution, as can hold proportion with the distance of fourscore Years between them. It is not to be denied, that the latter Great Person has had a large and noble Part in the Refinement of the English Wit and Style, and has shewn that true Race in the manner of his Composition, which may be*

* Adv. of Learning, B. ii. C. vii.

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so well distinguish'd in the Genius of his Family. The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, as it will always hold an honourable Place in the English Historical Library, so it is universally acknowledged as a Great Master-piece of Modern Writing. 'Tis remarkable that the very Art and Fineness of the Composition has by some been made an Objection against the Work; and that another Learned Person, who undertook to give a Specimen of Errors and Defects in it, at the same time declar'd its Reputation to be firmly and deservedly establish'd. It may be said of these Criticks, with regard to the Reverend Author, as of Cæsar in respect of Cato, they have || so censur'd as to commend him.

But what has display'd the Advantage of English History in all its Extent and Perfection, is the History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, &c. by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon: a Work the Dignity and Importance of which can only be express'd by those Great and Wise Discourses, with which it is so fitly introduc'd. As this Noble Author was a Witness to the first gathering of that Tempest, which afterwards with so much Courage and Success, he labour'd to appease; so his coming into Publick Affairs with the most unbiass'd Freedom, and his embracing the Cause of his Prince, upon an early Conviction of its Justice, have guarded him on both sides from any Suspicion he might have incurr'd, had he been either an Hereditary Retainer to the Royal-House, or added to it by a late Repentance. He has the same Happiness with Mr. Hooker and some few others, the Greatest of Writers and Men, to give such a Specimen of well-poiz'd Judgment, of Majestick and Religious Gravity, in the very

|| Quem tamen C. Cæsar ita reprehendit ut laudet. Plin. l. iii. Epist. xi.

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entrance of his *Work*, as to ensure the Belief, and engage the Veneration, of his Readers. It might be obvious to remark, that there is not one Excellence or Grace, of History, requir'd by Mr. Rapin, which had not been before exemplify'd by the Lord Chancellor: But this, perhaps, would add more to the Praise of the French Critick, than of the English Historian. Nor is it less Vulgar, to observe, in his Style, the Weight and Severity of Thucydides and Mariana, temper'd with the flowing Easiness of Livy and Davila; in his Reflections, the Wisdom of Polybius, and Penetration of Tacitus, but the former under the Conduct of Religion, the latter of Good Nature; in his Treatises and Deliberations, the Sagacity of F. Paul, as well as his Accuracy of Disposition; in his Characters, and among them of more than one Catiline, the Discernment and Felicity of Salust, with a richer Variety. But neither of these Methods can illustrate the Prevalence of a Great and Superior Genius, unrestrain'd by Rules, and incommensurate with Examples, or, in my Lord Bacon's Expression, imitating none, and inimitable. We may no less truly apply to him, what has been so finely said of that his great Predecessor, * his Style, as for the most part it describes Men's Minds, as well as Pictures do their Bodies, so it did his above all Men Living. For, to the Greatness of his Mind is owing that vast and comprehensive reach, and full grasp of all Affairs, that bold Expressiveness, and strong significancy of Language, with those fierce and terrible Graces, which Mr. Rapin, (after Demetrius Phalereus) commends in the Father of Poets, but cannot find in any Writer of History: to the Clearness of his Mind, that curious thread of Connexion, in all the Labyrinth of Events, never spun so fine as not to have hold of the main Subject, and there-

* History of the Royal Society, p. 36.

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fore, in many Places, the smaller the more admirable, as supporting so great a Weight: and, above all, to the Piety of his Mind, that Reverend and Devout Acknowledgment of the Hand of Divine Providence, in the Conduct of both Estates, as well in wounding as in binding up. How justly might this Great Person have been call'd upon in that Address of Atticus to Tully, † It is long that we have desir'd, or rather demanded, an History from you; this is a Present which you owe, not only to Scholars and to the University, but to the Publick, and to your Country, which as it was sav'd by your Counsels, so it ought to be adorn'd by your Pen? It was the modest and sensible Complaint of the ingenious Translators of Davila, that their Version, publish'd in 1647, came much shorter of equalling the Original, and Master's Work, than the Miseries of times Times did of those that are the Subject of it. But when the Miseries of their Times were consummate in the next infamous Year, and after a train of deplorable Misfortunes, which only seem'd light by that Comparison, at length terminated in a miraculous Restoration, this matchless History of our Misery and our Happiness will be confess'd to have been a glorious Addition to the Deliverance, and will contribute to the rendring our Nation the happiest under Heaven, if God shall be pleas'd to make it the Instrument of adding Establishment and Perpetuity to the Blessings He then restor'd.

Hence we might, with good Omens, proceed to take a View of the State of Philosophy in our Country; because a most accomplish'd Author, who more than forty Years since gave us hopes of this History of the Civil

† Cic. de Leg. L. 1. Postulatur à te jamdiu, vel flagituratur potius historia: —atque non solum mihi videris eorum studiis qui literis delectantur, sed etiam patriæ, debere hoc munus, ut ea quæ salva per te est, per te eundem sit ornata.

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Wars, and by || some Prophetical Imagination
thought it reserv'd for the Glory of that Age, to
finish an Undertaking, that might challenge all the
Writings of past or present Times, has himself been
the Historian of our Philosophical Adventures. The first
Part of that Work by which he has so much adorn'd, and
no less inspirited, the Royal Society of London for the
improving of Natural Knowledge, is a Narrative of
the Progress of Philosophy, and indeed of all Arts and
Learning, from their Rise in the East, to the Establish-
ment of this Illustrious Company; the Second, an account
of its Beginning, Growth, and Settlement, together
with a Transcript of its real Inventions and Experi-
ments; and the Third, a Compleat and Noble Apology
for so brave an Institution: the whole being enlighten'd
with such Eloquence, as is above all Description, but
what it deserv'd from the Poetry of his Friend:

His Candid Style, like a clean Stream does slide,
And his bright Fancy all the way
Does like the Sun-shine in it play:
It does, like *Thames*, the best of Rivers, glide,
Where the God does not rudely overturn,
But gently pour the Chrystal Urn, (guide.
And with judicious Hand does the whole Current
'T has all the Beauties Nature can impart, (Art.
And all the comely Drefs, without the Paint of

Yet the Character will be still further justified, and the
Friendship requited, so long as the Life of Mr. Cowley,
shall be own'd to be the most Correct and Masterly since
that of the Roman Atticus. * Thus, by perpetua-

|| *History of the Royal Society*, p. 43, 44.

* Redditus est L. Syllano debitus honor, ejus immortalitati Capi-
to propexit pariter & suz: neque enim magis decorum & insigne est,
statuam in foro populi Romani habere quam ponere. *Plin. L. I.*
Epist. xvii.

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ting his Friend's Honours, he has happily consulted his own: For 'tis no less Noble and Illustrious to give, than to receive a Monument of Immortality.

*And since Mr. Cowley is here mention'd, it ought not to be omitted, that the Society of English Philosophers owe much to the assistance of that excellent Man, as well in his Proposal for their Settlement, as his Panegyrick upon their Endeavours. If we enquire who it was that mov'd the first Springs of this famous Enterprize, we shall find both Historian and Poet, referring that Honour to my Lord Bacon. And we have an advantage in this Article, that Foreigners, who are less acquainted with the Poetry, History, or Eloquence of the English, do yet allow their Claim of being the chief Restorers of Philosophy, and look upon that Great Man in particular, as the Columbus of the New World of Science. He first disdain'd the Old Method of * breaking the weight of things with the nicety and minuteness of Questions, and, according to his own Comparison, instead of † going up and down with a small Watch-candle into every Corner of Knowledge, set up one great Branch of Lights, by which all might be seen at once. He seems to have govern'd himself by the same Maxim in his Philosophical, that Quintilian propos'd in his Oratorical Institutions; || I would have the Person whom I instruct, to be rather a Wise Man of Rome than of Greece: One that is not so much vers'd in Notional Debates, as in real Experiments and Effects, not so much a Subtle Disputer, as a Man of Conversation and Business. His admirable Works, that especially which is so worthily entituled of the Advance-*

* *Adv. of Learning. B. i. C. iv.*

† *Ibid.*

|| *Quintil. Institut. L. xii. c. ii. Ego illum quem instituo Romanum quendam esse velim sapientem, qui non secretis disputationibus, sed rerum experimentis atque operibus verè civilem virum exhibeat.*

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ment of Learning, *establis'd the first Marriage-Articles between the Rational and the Experimental Philosophy, from which Alliance has sprung all the fair Offspring of Modern Discoveries. It cannot be unacceptable to bear him giving his Judgment in two great Cases, that of the Doctrine of Forms, and that of the Improvement of Astronomy by Natural Philosophy.* † As it were not a thing easie, (*says he*) nor any way useful, to seek the Form of that Sound, which makes a Word, because Words, through Composition and Transposition of Letters, are infinite; but to enquire the Form of Sound which expresses some simple Letter, (namely, with what Collision, with what Application of the Instruments of Voice it is made) is a thing comprehensible and easie, which Form of Letters once known presently leads us to the Form of Words; in like manner, to enquire the Form of a Lyon, of an Oak, of Gold, nay, of Water, of Air, is a vain Pursuit; but to enquire the Forms of Dense, Rare, Hot, Cold, Heavy, Light, Tangible, Pneumatick, Volatile, Fixt, and the like, both of Configurations and Motions, Forms of the first Rank and Order, and which, as the Letters of the Alphabet, are not so many in Number, and yet build up and support the Essences and Forms of all Substances; this is that very Point which we Aim at, and endeavour to Compass. Again, as to the Union of Astronomy and Physicks, he sets down that part of Astronomy, which is Natural or Physical, as wanting in his Time, and calls it * Living Astronomy, to distinguish it from the Dead and Vulgar; which latter he compares to Prometheus's Offering of an Ox stult with Straw, presenting as it were, the Surface and outward Hide, fairly and artificially fill'd up with Systems and Schemes, but wanting

† *Adv. of Learning.* B. iii. C. iv.

* *Ibid.*

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*the Entrails and Vital Parts, the true Natural Reason and Principles, upon which the Theory should be built. So that if the Origine and Variety of Forms, has been so well trac'd and pursued through all its intricate Mazes, by the Excellent Mr. Boyle, and other Experimenters, as Naturalists, and by Mr. Lock as a Metaphysician, we see who it was that gave them the Clue. And if Astronomy, grafted upon the Principles of Nature, and cultivated by the Mathematicks, has grown up into a Science, and become infallible; 'tis no less certain, (with all due Respect to the Memory of the Great Men of other Nations,) that the Glory of Philosophy among the Moderns began with my Lord Bacon, and ends in Sir Isaac Newton. That the Great Principle of Mutual Attraction or Gravitation, reviv'd and demonstrated by the latter, was at least in the Wish and Desire of the former, we may guess from another Passage of the same Work: † Whoever (says he) shall reject the feigned Divorces of Superlunary and Sublunary Bodies, and shall intently observe the Appetencies of Matter, and the most Universal Passions, which in either Globe are exceeding Potent, and transverberate the Universal Nature of things, he shall receive clear Information concerning Cœlestial Matters, from the things seen here with us. It would be a vain Presumption to compare and decide the Merit of those who have come the nearest to these profound Genius's, either in projecting or executing, either in Noble Conceptions or in laborious and successful Application. * The Learned will easily distinguish who they are that most resemble so Great Examples, that no one may complain of our omitting those, whom he particularly values and approves. And while the Uni-*

† *Ibid.*

* *Facile est studiosis, qui sint his simillimi judicare; ne quisquam, queratur omisos fortè aliquos eorum quos ipse valde probet. Quintil Instir. l. x. C. i.*

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versities applaud the Successive Eminence of their Mathematical Professors, they will observe how largely those of the Savilian Chairs, have repair'd the Honour of their Founder, whose elaborate Essay in Geometry, has been the Subject of Wit and Railery to a Philosopher among our Neighbours †.

A very Judicious and Pious Author, || has mention'd among the Imperfections of Natural Philosophy, the resolving all into the Newtonian Principle. And such indeed it is to the Boasters of Humane Sufficiency, to be thus oblig'd to implore the Succour of Religion in the Distress and Exigency of their Schemes, as well as of their Lives. But to others it seems the Perfection and Glory of the Philosophy of Nature, to have all the Parts of its Chain inseparably connected, and the whole fasten'd to the Throne of the Author of Nature. The Vanity of Science falsely so called, has not been more apparent in those who set up Demonstration to the Exclusion of Providence, than the Divinity and Use of true Science in those who have made Providence it self the Subject of Demonstration. It is indeed, said Mr. Paschal, After a Man was perfectly well perswaded that the Proportions of Numbers are really Immaterial, Eternal Truths, depending on the First and Original Truth, in which they subsist, and which is no other than God, he should think such an one but very little advanc'd in the Affair of his Soul. But although that accurate Reasoner declin'd the Physical and Mathematical, for the Moral Proofs of Religion, yet 'tis probable he had not been so compleat a Master of the Latter, had he not excell'd in the Former. The same is evident in many Learned and Great Persons of our Nation, who have perform'd in just Discourses, what Mr. Pascal admirably attempted in scatter'd Fragments and unfinish'd (yet inestimable) Thoughts.

† Malebranche de la Recherche de la Verité. L. ii. C. vii.

|| Reflections on Learning Chap. vii.

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They have spoken of the Divine Essence and Attributes, of the Truth and Authority of the Holy Scriptures, of the Souls Immortality, of the Nature and Object of Faith, and of the Mysteries of Christianity, with so close and vigorous, so easie and perspicuous a Course of Argument, as may sooner convince the Doubting, than if they had drawn out the finest Train of Geometrical Conclusions. But still this discovers the excellent Service of their abstracted Knowledge, in giving Strength and Clearness to the Views of their Reason, and shews the Mathematicks and Metaphysicks, to have no less a Power of fixing the Judgment, than Musick has of agitating the Affections.

This is the Use of Philosophy in Religion, which Mr. Rapin has made the Subject of his concluding Essay. That he should yield any part of this Glory to the way which he calls Heresie, was not to be expected. But it were to be wish'd, at least, that he had not fallen into the Vulgar Error of his Communion, by charging an utter contempt of Philosophy, not only upon German Anabaptists, and the like Fanatical Innovators, but upon Protestants in general. As to what concerns the Honour of the English, let an unprejudic'd Adversary judge, whether they have not employ'd the Maxims of true Philosophy with equal Success, against Romanists, by whom it is boasted, against Socinians by whom it is perverted, and against Enthusiasts, by whom 'tis despised: Whether the solid and useful Part of the Aristotelian Doctrine is not better taught and defended in our Universities, than in Foreign Seminaries: Whether out of the Works of Bishop Sanderson there might not be compil'd as just a Summa Theologiae, as has been left by any of the School-men: Whether Mr. Chillingworth's skill in Logick might not challenge the whole Order of the Jesuits: And whether we may not affirm more rightly of Bishop Pearson, what Cardinal Contareni is said to have confess'd of Martin Bucer, that, For accomplish'd Knowledge of Divinity and Philosophy, He alone might be oppos'd to all the Doctors of the Church of Rome.

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There is indeed a very artful and agreeable Manner of Writing, compos'd of a fine Mixture of Wit and Eloquence, with Moral and Philosophical Reflections, which the French, by the Sprightliness of their Genius, have particularly cultivated, and in which they have been thought to excel. The Reflections of the Duke de Rochefaucault, M. Fontanell's Dialogues, and M. Bruyere's Characters are Originals in this kind, yet such as will not refuse to be rank'd with the Essays of the Lord Bacon, Sir William Temple, Mr. Cowley, and Mr. Collier, which under the same general Title have a very different Excellence and Beauty. Father Malebranche, with the other curious Enquirers of his Nation, have not carried away so much Glory by the fine Conception or accurate Texture and Harmony of their Schemes, as not to leave a great and lasting Praise to the Essay of Humane Understanding, and the two Sublime Theories of the Natural and Intellectual Worlds. Nor are there among the French Pieces, Translated or Abbreviated from the Ancient Moralists, any that have reach'd the bright Expression and surprizing Turn, which we are charm'd with in Sir Roger L'Estrange's Seneca, and Mr. Collier's Antoninus. And here we ought, without Envy, to acknowledge, how much the English Language has been enrich'd and adorn'd by the best Authors of other Nations or Times, which these and the like excellent Translators have truly made their own.

But what in us is want of Strength or Voice,
In them was either Modesty or Choice: *

* And while there are so many Versions that deserve Praise, it will be happy for some others if they may deserve Pardon.

* Sir John Denham.

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It does not argue a Barrenness in the Genius of the English, that they are continually bringing in the Stores of their Neighbour Nation, because there is so vast a Subject for the latter to make Reprisals. Nor can it be objected, that the Riches of our Language are wholly owing to their Treasury, or that the best English is but French melted down. For tho' we have receiv'd a large, and perhaps too large a Fund of their Words; yet as to the Grace and Order of Style, the Construction of the two Languages being nearly the same, they will flow with like easiness one into the other. For an instance on our side, we may offer the fine Complement made in the History of our Royal Society, to the History of the French Academy: But I shall say no more of this Academy, that I may not deprive my Reader of the Delight of perusing their own History, written by *Monsieur de Pellisson*; which is so masculinely, so chastly, and so unaffectedly done, that I can hardly forbear envying the French Nation this Honour, that while the English Royal Society has so much out-gone their Illustrious Academy in the Greatness of its Undertaking, it should be so far short of them in the Abilities of its Historian. I have only this to alledge in my Excuse, that, as they undertook the Advancement of the Elegance of Speech, so it became their History to have some resemblance to their Enterprize: Whereas, the Intention of ours being not the Artifice of Words, but a bare Knowledge of Things, my Fault may be esteem'd the less, that I have written of Philosophers without any Ornament of Eloquence. * *Mais je ne diray rien d'avantage de cette Academie, afin de ne priver pas mon Lecteur du contentement de lire leur propre hi-*

* According to the Translation prefix'd to the History of the French Academy: Edit. Hague 1688.

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toire, écrite par M. de Pellisson : Ce qu'il à fait d'un Stile, si mâle, si chaste, & si éloigné d'affectation, qu'à peine me puis-je abstenir, d'envier cet honneur à la Nation Francoise, de ce que tandis la Societé Royale d'Angleterre à tellement surpassé leur illustre Academie in la grandeur de son dessein, elle est si inferieure à eux quant à la capacité de son Historien. J'ay ceci seulement à alleguer pour mon excuse, que comme ils ont entrepris l'enrichissement & la politesse du Langage, il étoit bien seant à leur Histoire d'avoir quelque ressemblance à leur Entreprise : au lieu que l'intention de la nôtre, n'étant pas l'artifice des paroles, mais la seule connoissance des choses, ma faute doit etre estimée moindre, en ce que j'ay écrit des Philosophes, sans aucun des ornemens de l'Eloquence. *Has not this Generous Character and Noble Address, given a new Supply to their Academy, and improv'd, as well as out-gone, the Eloquence which it commends!*

*What the same great Writer has observ'd of the English Wit, that it has * an excellent Mixture of the Spirit of the French and Spaniard, seems no less true of the English Tongue. But, when after the Advantages given it by the Living Languages, it shall be farther improv'd upon the Ancient Models, and be made capable of that bold Transposition of Words, and those Powerful Elegancies in Prose, which Mr. Milton, with his Happy Second, have so nobly display'd in Verse, it may then attain its last Perfection and Growth,*

And in the Roman Majesty appear, (near.
Which none knows better, and none comes so
Lord Roscommon.

*In the mean time, we may with Justice conclude, that
† we want only a few more standing Examples,*

* *History of the Royal-Society. B. i. p. 43.*

† *History of the Royal-Society. B. i. p. 43.*

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and a little more Familiarity with the Ancients, to excel all the Moderns : *Especially since the Author of that Remark has contributed so much to the supplying of both these Defaults, the one by his Writings, the other by his Patronage.* Indeed, the Comparative Excellence of our Country should be argue'd by those only, who themselves are Instances of the Advantages which they maintain, and are able to make them increase under their Hands. This imperfect Survey may seem sufficient for the Prefacer's Abilities and Purpose, who the less he approaches to Pliny's Rule, that || none but an Artist ought to judge of Arts, the more sincerely he joyns in Pliny's Confession ; * I am not of the number of those who envy others the Gifts which they want themselves ; on the contrary I feel a particular Delight, if the Blessings which have been denied to me are yet possess'd and enjoy'd by my Friends. This perhaps, is such an Apology as may want another Excuse. The borrow'd Ornaments of Discourse are exploded under the Name of Pedantry, and the disuse of them has been reckon'd among the Improvements of Modern Style. Not to engage here in their Defence, from the Examples of Mons. Voiture, and Mr. Cowley, 'tis enough, to justify the retaining them on the present Occasion, that they are constantly us'd by Mons. Rapin, and that 'twas not unfit the Preface should bear this affinity to the Work. Besides, it being here affirm'd, that the Wit and Language of the English may be still carried to greater heights by a stricter Alliance with the Ancient Patterns, the Liberty taken in this respect may contribute somewhat to the Design ; since what we have barely cited and translated, others may be able to imitate or exceed.

Novemb. 1705.

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|| L. 4. Epist. x. De Pictore, Sculptore, &c. judicare nisi artifex non potest.

* Neque enim ego, ut multi, invideo aliis bonum quo ipse careo ; sed contra sensum quendam voluptatemq; percipio, si ea quæ mihi denegantur amicis video superesse. *Ibid.*

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The Design of the Work in General, and in Particular.

THIS Work, which may serve for some sort of Rule in Speaking and Writing, is a Collection of eight Pieces upon all the principal Subjects of fine Letters, compos'd one after another, without any particular relation between them. My first Design was to endeavour the restoring of a good Taste among the Ingenious, which has been somewhat vitiated by that Spirit of too profound Learning, which reign'd in the Age before us: But since 'tis visible, that we can know nothing of Politeness in perfection, but by conversing with old Authors, and that whatever Genius a Man brings to support his pretensions to Knowledge, he cannot yet succeed in it without a particular Veneration for pure and sound Antiquity; I thought it needful to begin with the exciting and encouraging of this Veneration. For none will doubt but that the Works of the Ancients are the true Fountains whence we are to draw these Riches and Treasures, whence good Sense is form'd and compos'd, and whence arises that admirable Penetration which enables us to distinguish true Beauties from false in Nature, and by them to rectifie our Judgment in those of Art.

This is what may engage the Learned to countenance my Attempt; under which I propose to them the greatest Examples, in the

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Comparisons, and the best Rules in the *Reflections*. That is, I intend this Work as an Abridgment and Summary View of whatever is excellent in the several parts of Polite Learning. For after all, 'tis one of the Faults of our Age, that we do not apply our selves, so strictly as we ought, to these Great Originals; which alone can fashion our Wit, and give the right Turn to our Souls. *Alcibiades* was of this Opinion, who by his Example, and by the Value he set on the best Authors, contributed so much to the Polishing of the Times he liv'd in, and of Cultivating that peculiar Nicety of Judgment which heretofore reign'd at *Athens*. We are told, that having one day met with a Pedantic Pretender to Learning, who had not read *Homer*, he rejected him with the utmost Contempt, as not apprehending how it was possible even to counterfeit the Scholar without some Acquaintance with that incomparable Author. For to engage, with the warmest Application, in the Study of those great Men, was then the establish'd Method of improving the Mind, and gaining the Character of Sense. And, all things consider'd, we are to expect little that's Just and Substantial, but what is deriv'd from their Stores. There's nothing false in their Judgment, nothing wide or loose in their Manners, nothing affected in their Character: but all has a tendency to good Sense; for which they had so exquisite a Relish, as to be utter Strangers to those brilliant Expressions, those specious Thoughts and Words that dazzle the Vulgar. So that if we once forsake those pure Sources of Wit and Style, we shall be in danger of wandering perpetually, and shall never proceed with any assured steps in the ways of Knowledge, of which they are the only accomplish'd Masters and Guides. For,

Plutarch
in Alcibiades.

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For, as the chief Ambition of these Ancient Worthies, design'd by Nature for the Instruction of others, was to dedicate their Attainments to the publick Service, and to conceal nothing that might be profitable to Ages to come; they were careful not to make one false step in the vast course of Arts and Sciences, which they pursued for the improvement of Mankind. In those good Primitive Days, Virtue was courted for her Native Charms, without those external Ornaments with which Fortune is pleas'd sometimes to invest her; and the greatest Contention then among the Learned, was to keep nothing Secret that might inform and benefit Posterity. We should value the Judgment of the Roman Philosopher, who tells us, there are some Persons by the superiority of their Genius destin'd to be Masters to others, to whom we ought to apply and adhere, and to nourish our selves with their Virtue and Substance, if we would lay a solid Foundation for Wisdom.

I forbear to speak of the Worth and Excellence of these Studies, without which a Man of Honesty and Civility would scarce be able to find any Sweetness or Agreeableness in Life; because from our acquaintance with these, as from a secret Fountain of Pleasure, springs all the Joy of the Mind, and Entertainment of the Understanding. 'Tis certain, a Man cannot arrive at any tolerable degree of Politeness, or of that Genteelness which gives such an Air to Human Converse, but by some tincture of these Faculties, and some knowledge of those who have excell'd in them. It was only by this means that *Mæcenas* became the Favourite of the greatest Emperour of the World, and the finest Gentleman of the most Polite Court that ever was. As he had a nice

Cum adhuc nuda virtus placeret vigebant artes ingenue, summumq; certamen inter homines erat ne quid profuturum seculis diu lateret.

Satyrice Certis ingenii immorari & innutriri oportet.

Qui nullius ingenio se familiariter applicant, omnia

cursum transmittunt.

Senec.

Ep. 11.

Vitam esse insuavem sine his literis & studiis.

Cic. de

Orat. 1.

Constat Mæcenatem fuisse littera;

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rum peri-
tissimum,
& plura
carmina
composuisse.
Serv. in
Georg. 2.
Germani-
cum Augu-
stum ab
instituti-
studii de-
flexit cura
terrarum;
parumq;
diis ipsum
est esse cum
maximum
Poetarum.
Quint.
Inst. L. X.
c. 1.
Conceda-
mus Cæsa-
ri, ut prop-
ter magni-
tudinem
cogitatio-
num &
occupatio-
nes rerumq;
minus Elo-
quentiâ
effecerit,
quàm Di-
vinum ejus
ingenium
postulabat.
Dial. de
Orat.
In Marcell.

Taste of the several Exercises of Wit so he was very happy in his own Compositions, and encourag'd those that had a Genius for Letters, as well by his Example, as his Bounty; being remarkable for his Talent in Verse. *Quintilian*, conceiv'd so high an *Idea* of the Dignity of these Studies, that he could not but condole the hard Destiny of *Germanicus*, in his being Born to govern the Empire, and reign Master of the World, when otherwise he must have prov'd the greatest Wit, and the most finish'd Poet of his Time. And the same Author, who is always so exact in his Judgment, does not without difficulty excuse *Cæsar* upon this Plea, that the Greatness of his Soul, and the vast pursuits of his Ambition, hindred him from carrying his Eloquence to that degree of Perfection which was promis'd by his *Divine* Genius, as that Master is pleas'd to Style it.

We see what Notion these Great Men entertain'd of the several parts of Learning, of which I am now making an Abridgment, and what place they held in their Esteem. And I persuade my self, it will not be taken unkindly, that I offer this Collection to the Publick, to acquaint our Age with a new Method of teaching the Sciences as well by Authority, in proposing the noblest Patterns, as by Reason, in delivering the truest Maxims that can be given for the Conduct of so important a Design. *Plutarch* informs us, that the Great *Marcellus* who was five times Consul, and who worsted *Hannibal* in so many several Encounters, was the First that animated and inspir'd the *Romans* with a Love for what was Curious, by exposing to publick View the Pictures and Statues he had taken at *Syracuse*. This is what I would endeavour to do; to kindle in the pre-
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sent Age an Affection and Passion for fine Learning, by representing these compleat Models in every kind. And this may seem no improper Method of Instruction for Persons of Quality, who shall thus not be oblig'd to descend to the too mechanical way of Vulgar Rules, and that Minuteness of Grammatical Construction, which is ever disagreeable to Men of advanc'd Understandings.

This is the Design of the following Collection, in General; let us now view it in Particular, according to the eight several Discourses of which it is compos'd. I begin the first Tome with the Consideration of Eloquence, the most necessary Faculty, in regard of its extended and universal Use. I endeavour to display it in the Comparison of the two most accomplish'd Standards that the World has known, *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, whom 'tis impossible to study without commencing an Orator, or, at least, without entertaining an Ambition to speak and write exactly. In the Preface of this Comparison I explain the great Rule of this Art, laid down by *Aristotle*, and thence take Occasion to treat of the most essential Parts of Oratory. But nothing seems more capable of letting us into a just Apprehension of this Rule, than the Dispute between *Cicero* and *Brutus* about the most perfect manner of speaking in Publick, which I have represented from the Epistles of the former to his Friend *Pomponius Atticus*, having made use of those Memoirs, to set this Adventure in its true Light, which will be so grateful to the Curious, and to the Lovers of Eloquence. And the Debate of these two famous Men upon a Subject the most worthy of their Observation, may clear up many things in so difficult and

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important a Point, and serve for a Key to the whole Comparifon.

The fecond Piece, which is the Comparifon of *Homer* and *Virgil*, does not fo much regard the Perfons of thefe Noble Rivals, (equally unknown to us,) as their refpective Poems. The whole Difcourfe turns upon this Hinge, and may be call'd a Treatife of Epick Poetry, fince it contains whatever is curious in the Remarks of *Aristotle* and his Expositors, on the Subject, and at the fame time enters into the particular *Genius* of thefe Master-Poets, and admires Originals, in whofe Character every Circumftance is obfervable, and of whom nothing ought to be loft.

The third Piece is the Comparifon of *Thucydides* and *Livy*, and is indeed an Abridgment of both their Works. For, having firft compar'd the two Hiftorians, in the full Extent of their *Genius* and Character, I proceed to compare their Writings, and omit nothing that might ferve to render the Parallel juft and accurate. This Piece may not improperly be call'd a Treatife of the fublime Style, of which thefe Authors had fo great a Maftery: befides that the Abridgment of their refpective Stories cannot but afford Entertainment to the Curious.

The fourth Piece is the Comparifon of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, in which, after having faid all that relates to their Perfons and different Circumftances of Life, I oppofe their Doctrine, in all its Parts, that is, their Logick, their Ethicks, their Phyficks, and Metaphyficks; and then conclude with an Hiftorical Account of the Adventures of both their Sects. And this Account may probably have fomewhat particular to recommend it; efpecially to thofe who defire a
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thorough Acquaintance with these Heroes in Philosophy. To which I may add in general, as to the Pourtraicture of these eight Worthies whom I have set one against the other, that there's nothing elsewhere to be met with so peculiar concerning each of them, nothing that can give us a stronger *Idea* of their Excellence, or a more perfect Knowledge of whatsoever bears any Affinity to their Character.

The Second Tome consists of *Reflections* upon *Eloquence*, *Poetry*, *History*, and *Philosophy*, in the same Order with the precedent Comparisons.

The first Piece in this Tome, which contains the Reflections upon *Eloquence*, is divided into three Parts; Reflections upon the Eloquence of the Times, in general; upon the Eloquence of the Bar, and that of the Pulpit: In which an exact Account is given of what seems remarkable in the use of these several kinds of Eloquence, with the Rules at large upon which the Character of each of them is to be built.

The second Treatise, being the Reflections upon *Poetry*, displays all the several Species of Verse, with their different Characters, and presents the Reader with whatever can be offer'd on the Art of Poesy in general. But what's particular in this Piece, is, that it contains a Judgment upon all the eminent Poets in a Course of almost two thousand Years, that have written in *Greek*, *Latin*, *Italian*, and *Spanish*, and almost in all sorts of Measures. Again, a peculiar Disquisition is here made into the various kinds of Poems, with their distinguishing Beauties: The whole being intermix'd with such Rules, Principles, and Remarks,

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marks, as may furnish out the compleatest Knowledge of this wonderful Art.

The third Discourse is properly a compleat Body of Historical Instructions, illustrated as well by Rules and Maxims, as by Examples taken from the Ancient and Modern Historians. It explains the Aim and Scope of History, what 'tis it pretends to, what Course it steers, and what End it pursues. Hence it enters into the Discussion of the principal Questions on this Subject; it shews what's the most proper Style of History, or in what manner it ought to be written, whether a Nobleness or a Simplicity of Expression, be most agreeable to its Character; in what the Purity and Simplicity of the Historical Style consists; what should be its Matter, and what its Form; that 'tis *Truth* alone can make it please, and answer its just End and Intention: what should be the distinguishing Rule of its Narrations, of its Circumstances, its Transitions, Figures, Descriptions, Harangues, Characters of Persons, Reflections, Digressions, with whatever belongs to the peculiar Rhetorick of History. The Treatise ends with a Display of the proper *Genius* of an Historian, with regard as well to his Abilities as his Integrity, together with a Censure of the *Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish* Historians; and this winds up the third Piece.

The fourth which is written upon *Philosophy*, explains the Rise, Progress, and Decay, and all the Adventures of this Science, thro' the many Ages of its Course. It represents the Character of the Ancient Philosophers, from *Pythagoras* to the last Sect of the *Academies*, and distinguishes this according to the three several Periods of the *Academy*. And having purged
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Philosophy in general, from all the Stains and Blemishes which most of the eminent Masters, true, or false, have left upon it, having remov'd all Impurity or Error, arising from the Imperfection of their Notions, or Manners, so as to render it an honest and agreeable Entertainment of Mind, it then offers an Abridgment of the Logick, Ethicks, Physicks, and Metaphysicks of all the old Philosophers, but more particularly of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xeno*, and *Epicurus*, being the Sum of what is memorable in these four Authors, upon these four Parts of Philosophy, not omitting the Sentiments of the Modern Philosophers, what is singular in the Physicks of *Gassendus* and *Descartes*, with their Excellencies and Defaults. And this last Piece concludes with some uncommon Remarks as to the Use of Philosophy in Religion, giving a sort of an Abstract of the several Demonstrations offer'd by Ancient or Modern *Apologists*, for the Establishment of our Holy Faith, and to teach us to be *Christians*, before we are Philosophers, or to be good *Philosophers* only that we may be better *Christians*.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Whatever Care I have taken to omit nothing in this so important Comparison, of the two great Orators, and whatever Assistance I have borrow'd from *Quintilian* and *Plutarch* to render it the more exact, I must confess my self to have been put to new Difficulties by the Controversy between *Cicero* and *Brutus* about the Perfection of Eloquence. *Brutus* was recommended to the Acquaintance of *Cicero* by their Common Friend, *Pomponius At-*

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Atticus; *Cicero*, who had the most exquisite Discernment of true Merit, was affected and even ravish'd with that of *Brutus*, in whom he found such a *Genius* for Oratory, such a Disposition to every thing that was excellent, with so much true Probity and Virtue of Soul. Indeed *Brutus* was then the Person who stood first in the Esteem of all the Men of Wit and Quality at *Rome*. It was by these Advantages that he merited the Familiarity of *Pomponius Atticus*, the most accomplish'd Gentleman in the Commonwealth; who, tho' he declin'd all Employments, and preferr'd the Solitude of a private Life, yet still retain'd the freest Inter-course with those that govern'd the State, such as *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, *Tully*, *Antony*, *Octavius*, *Lepidus*, and the rest. *Brutus* was no sooner acquainted with his Character, but he conceiv'd an Ambition of being in the Number of his Friends. And he succeeded so well in his Desire, that *Atticus* was charm'd with his Company, and was full of his Praise. He, as we observ'd, first spoke of him to *Cicero*, and had the Honour of tying so strict a Knot between those Generous Hearts. *Cicero* was then about threescore years old, and *Brutus* about thirty. Eloquence was the first Subject of their Conversation: *Atticus* took a Pleasure in engaging them upon this Topick not to create an Animosity, which was so far from his Temper, but to give *Brutus* the fuller View of *Cicero*, whose Character was so establish'd in this Profession, and to unite their Minds in the closer Intimacy and Affection.

They were, at first sight, so prepossess'd in one another's Favour, that perhaps never any Friendship made a greater Progress in a shorter Time. Yet among so many excellent Qualities which engag'd them in this happy Alliance, they

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they yet found themselves to entertain some different Notions on the point of Eloquence, while as yet the Calm and Tranquillity of Publick Affairs allow'd them the Freedom of a Debate, and before the Commonwealth was made a Prey to the Designs of Ambitious Men.

Atticus, to reconcile their Notions, advised *Cicero* to write his Sentiments upon Oratory, which *Brutus*, by his sweet Compliance of Temper, above all things desired.

Cicero undertook the Argument, in confidence of his Old Reputation. He had indeed been long acknowledg'd for the Great Master of Speaking, and the Orators of his time paid him such a general Deference, that *Hirtius* and *Dolabella*, two of the most eminent of the number, did him the Honour to confess themselves his Scholars; as he himself intimates in a Letter to *Pætus*. In a word, his Judgment on this whole Art had hitherto born so great a Weight, that he did not question its Prevalence with the young Gentleman, against whom he was now engaged. Upon this View, he compos'd his Treatise of the most Perfect kind of Eloquence, of which we have only a Fragment remaining. But 'twas a Surprise to him to hear that *Brutus* was not satisfied with his Reasons, and had intimated as much to *Atticus*. *Cicero*, touch'd in his Honour by the Liberty of this young Critick, was impatient to hear *Brutus* himself play the Orator, that he might have his Turn of judging. He soon obtain'd his Wish; *Brutus* spake in the Capitol, and sent him the Speech. What Opinion he had of it, he tells their Friend *Atticus*: *I have receiv'd Brutus's Speech, from the Author; and I think it to be most finely written, and Eloquent beyond Comparison.* And again, *The*

Bruto m-
per scripse-
ram, roga-
tu tuo,
Cic. ad
Artic Ep.
23. L. 14.
cum preci-
bus Bruti
adductus
scripsissem
ad eum de
optimo ge-
nere dicen-
di, tibi
scripsit sibi
illud non
probari,
ibid
Hirtium
& Dola-
bellam dis-
cendi di-
scipulos
habeo, cœ-
nandi ma-
gistros, Ep.
Fam. L. ix.
E. 16.
Tibi scrip-
si, sibi il-
lud quod
mibi placet
non proba-
ri, ad At-
tic. ibid.
Utinam li-
ceat isti
concionari,
ibid.

Notion

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*Brutus mi- Notion he has of the most perfect Character of Elo-
sit ad me quence he has so well express'd in his own Compositi-
orationem on, that nothing can be more admirable. The
suam; est seems to me a true Argument of Greatness of
scripta elo- Soul in Tully, to be so free of his Commenda-
quentissi- tion of this young Orator, who had been no
mè, sen- less free in dissenting from his Judgment. For
tentis, thus he confesses to Atticus, That he had found
verbis, ut in this Discourse all manner of Purity, Elegance and
nihil possit Beauty, and, in fine, all the Ornaments of which it
ultra, ibid. was capable. He acknowledges the whole to
Quod judi- be compos'd in such a degree of Perfection, to
cium habet which nothing can be added, either for the
de optimo Thoughts or Words. How delighted should
genere di- we be to see a Discourse so accomplish'd in all
cendi id ita its Numbers, and which gave so much Satis-
consecutus faction to Cicero, after Brutus had appear'd dis-
in eâ ora- satisfied with Cicero's Present! This is a pitch
tione, ut of Honour and Sincerity which may pass for
elegantius Heroical!*
nihil esse
possit, ibid.

But after all, Cicero, by a refined Strain of Delicacy, objected to him, that in so compleat a Performance, he had not yet perserved all the Decorum necessary to his Character and Person. Indeed, there was Ground for this Censure. Brutus harangu'd the People in the Capitol, after the Death of Cæsar: He was to speak of Liberty, having just before had a hand in rescuing his Country from the Tyrant, and now speaking to those who had concurr'd in the Action: For my own part, says Tully to Atticus, had I been to appear on that Occasion, I would have spoke with more Ardor and Vehemence; for you know what would have best comported with the Person of the Speaker. The Argument of Discourse was Liberty, the Auditors were a People the most jealous of their Liberty; and now beginning to breath, after their

Ego si il- lam cau- sam habu- issem, scrip- sissim ar- dentius; vi- des quæ sit persona di- centis, Ep. 2. L. xv. ad Attic.

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their Apprehensions of Servitude, by *Cæsar's* Death : I might not, says he, have display'd so much Politeness and Elegance as Brutus, but I would have shewn more Concern and Commotion ; And if you reflect a little upon the Vehemence of Demosthenes, that Eloquence which, like the strokes of Thunder, was so irresistible, and which render'd him the Object of Wonder and Terror, you will confess that I am in the right, and that the Politest Elegance is not inconsistent with the noblest Resolution.

In the Character which Brutus propos'd of the Athenian Accuracy and Brightness, nothing could be more accomplish'd : but then all the Perfection of Eloquence does not consist in this Character : there is an Eloquence strong, masculine and nervous, which is Victor over all, and there's an Eloquence soft, charming and agreeable, which is Mistress of all.

This Adventure, the Circumstances of which I meet with in the twenty third Epistle of the fourteenth Book, and in the first of the fifteenth Book of Tully to Atticus, may contribute to the illustrating that Rule which I shall offer, for the Comparing of these two Renown'd Orators, may open the Eyes of Intelligent Persons to discern that there are different Ways and Characters of Eloquence, each of which may be supremely Excellent in its kind ; may shew them what is Essential to the main Point here in Debate, and convince them, that the Judgment I venture to pass upon these great Masters, is built upon the most solid Foundation.

But, to come to my particular Design in this Comparison, I declare it is no other than to propose to the present Age an accomplished Standard of Eloquence ; it being universally agreed

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agreed, that *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* are the Men who have carried this Art to its utmost Height, and most absolute Perfection. And 'tis reasonable to believe, we should be blessed with noble Orators, in the Pulpit, and at the Bar, if these Originals were more closely studied. Besides, they both held so very considerable a Figure in their respective States, that their Life may be many ways useful to Persons of Quality and Distinction; and the Merit of both is of so vast an Extent, that may serve for a Model, not only to Magistrates and Publick Ministers, but likewise to all those that pretend to any Greatness of Soul, or Elevation of Spirit.

The main Point in this whole Comparison is the fixing of a Rule, by which it may be justly and successfully managed. *Aristotle* has obliged us with such a Rule in the second Chapter of the first Book of his *Rhetorick*, when he observes, that *the End of Oratory is Persuasion, and that there are three things which have the chief Power to persuade, the Merit of the Speaker, the Disposition of those to whom he speaks, and his manner of Speaking.* Hence we may establish a Method for the trying of these Rival Orators. In the first Part we compare their Personal Merit, which consists in their Integrity and their Ability. In the Second part we endeavour to fix the Character of Wit and Sense, as it stood in *Athens* and *Rome*, in the time of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*. In the third, which regards the Manner of Speaking we offer an Abridgment of their Eloquence on both sides. But in our whole Attempt of giving the Pourtraict of these Masters, we ought to take *Quintilian's* Advice, who was for excellent

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excellent a Judge of both : *We are* (says he) *De tantis*
to pronounce *with Modesty and Caution on so Great* *viris mo-*
Men, lest, as it commonly happens in the World, *desse &*
we have the Forwardness to condemn what we have *circumscri-*
not the Skill to understand. *pro judicio*

pronunti-
andum, ne
quod ple-
risque ac-
cidit, dam-
nent que
non intel-
ligunt,
Institut. x
c. I.

ERRATA.

ERRATA.

Page 4. l. 8. f. have, r. find. p. 35. l. 22 r. into whom
 p. 37. l. 1. r. rapt. l. penult. r. we shall confess the
 Heroes, &c. p. 39. l. 21. r. without wishing that Demosthe-
 nes had taken. p. 41. r. Arpinum. p. 52. l. ult. del. one.
 57. l. 9, 10. r. had it been practis'd by Demosthenes. l. 13.
 Gravity. p. 75. l. ult. r. Ausonius. p. 115. l. 4. r. than on.
 120. l. 32. r. And 'tis one way of gaining Authority, not to
 pretend to it. p. 124. l. antepenult. r. because Hector's Death
 was not the last Decision of Affairs, but only an Obstacle to the
 Decision remov'd. p. 126. r. ragione. p. 145. l. 22. dele Here
 p. 163. r. and even the Applause. p. 173. r. shew what sound
 harsh, or wants Ornament, or where, &c. p. 174. Marg.
 ἀπεργατολογία. p. 177. l. 22. dele only. l. 24. dele likewise
 p. 195. l. 16. r. collected. p. 210. f. Æneide, r. Iliade. f.
 Greek, &c. r.

Yield Rome and Greece, thy vanquish'd Iliad mourn,
 A Nobler Offspring hastens to be Born.

p. 129. f. young Son, r. Grandson. p. 226. f. what, r. what
 p. 242. Marg. r. clarissimiq; p. 260. f. interfered, r. fallen on
 p. 266. Marg. dele. Hist. Rom. p. 274. r. his Spleen. p. 279.
 l. 6. r. Propensity. p. 277. l. 5. r. against him. p. 279.
 Turnebus. p. 282. f. had, r. might have. p. 301. f. fif-
 r. fifteen. p. 303. Marg. r. que ne in malis. In the Comp.
 Plato and Aristotle. f. Aulugella, r. A. Gellius. p. 359.
 Loyalty, r. Royalty. p. 370. f. at it's, r. at his. p. 389.
 Book of Interpretation. p. 390. r. for the Ideas of things
 only. p. 391. dele of Air. p. 394. l. 8. r. Medal. p. 411.
 l. penult. r. a Foot-ball that weighs more when it is blown. 43
 l. 10. r. drew upon it.

A
COMPARISON
O F

Demosthenes and Cicero.

CHAP. I.

*An Encomium upon Demosthenes and
Cicero, in order to give us an Idea
of their Respective Merits.*

TH E Merit of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* is so transcendent, that none can understand it, or value it in Proportion to its Extent, but those that are furnish'd with equal Qualifications, and renown'd for equal Worth. The Understanding and Knowledge of things, which young Proficients in Learning acquire by their first Studies, is too much limited and circumscrib'd, to render them capable of judging between these two Authors, or of estimating their Works according to their true Intrinsic Value. In order to this there is required, not only a competent share of Natural Abilities, but a good stock of sound and solid Sense;

B the

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the Effect of Time and Age, together with an unprejudic'd and uncorrupted Judgment, gain'd and improv'd by being well vers'd in Ancient Writers. Tho' I can, my self, make no Pretence to any of these Qualifications, yet, if I here make some Observations upon what is most remarkable in these two Orators, I hope my Endeavours of this Nature will not prove altogether Useless and Ineffectual to others, in order to their attaining to such necessary Accomplishments. This was the only Motive that induc'd me to publish my Reflections upon this Subject; and I must confess, that, upon a Survey of what I had writ, I was more persuaded than before, that these two Incomparable Geni's, like other miraculous Productions of Nature, were never seen in the World but once; and that, as it is difficult to comprehend their Excellencies, 'tis still much more so to describe them.

It is acknowledged on all hands, that never did Eloquence form two greater Orators, nor Policy raise two more accomplish'd States-Men. But it is not easy to determine, by which of these two noble Means they acquir'd most Glory; whether by their great Actions, or by their Eloquence: For besides their great Abilities and most consummate Capacities; besides their profound Insight and most perfect Views, their refin'd Understandings gave them into all manner of Business; they had the Art of maintaining and enforcing, in their Publick Assemblies, all those wise Resolutions, of which they themselves had given the first Overtures; and of persuading their Audience to whatever they pleas'd.

It were superfluous in this Place to speak of all the Harangues, Negotiations, Embassies, Treaties

Demosthenes and Cicero.

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Treaties of War and Peace, Secret and Publick Intelligences, and of all the Expeditions of *Demosthenes*; as well as of the Superintendencies, Provincial Governments, Military Commands, and of that Sovereign Power *Cicero* enjoy'd, in the most flourishing State in the World; when there are still behind, far greater Things than these to be said in honour of them. For there is none that can be ignorant of the good Fortune they both had of numbering Kings in the List of their Clients, of giving their Protection to Crown'd Heads, and of ruling the Destiny of all that was then great in the World. The Eloquence of *Demosthenes* was the best Security, and the surest Defence of *Greece*, and the greatest Bulwark of *Persia*, against the Designs of the *Macedonian* Kings; and that of *Cicero*, in destroying *Catiline*, prevented the Ruin of *Rome*, which otherwise it cou'd neither have avoided, nor repair'd. It rais'd Young *Octavius* to the Consulship, at a time, when the Aversion against the Usurpation of his Predecessor so universally prevail'd amongst all sorts of People, that he dar'd not so much as entertain the least Thought of it, especially at the Age he was then of, had not *Cicero* encourag'd him to put in his Pretensions to that Honour, with a Promise of his Assistance: And 'twas this great Orator alone that gave that mighty Turn of Affairs, by those Harangues he made to the People against *Marc Anthony*.

The Abilities of these two Orators were so great, that all the Learned Men of Antiquity have ever look'd upon them as Prodigies. And truly, if any one will but take the pains to dive deep, and search far into their Works, he will find such a vast Extent of Knowledge,

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that it is hard to conceive how it was possible for them, who spent almost their whole Lives in Publick Employments, to have any Reserve of Time for Contemplation. For never certainly did any two Men engage in so many Important Enterprizes, transact so much of State Affairs, and dispatch so much of the Publick Business, and yet have Opportunity to make themselves Masters of all that Knowledge that is acquir'd by Study and Meditation.

C H A P. II.

Learned Men have not presum'd to determine, to which of these two great Orators, the Preference ought to be given.

NOthing can give us a nobler Idea of their Merit, than the Difficulty all Men that have had any Knowledge of Letters, or any Taste of Eloquence, have ever found in deciding, to which the Precedence is to be given.

Their declining thus to pass their Judgment in this Case, is a great Instance of the Respect every one bore them; a Decision of this Nature being look'd upon as either too difficult or too bold an Attempt: And the truth is, not to mention a great many Learned Men that have been famous in these latter Times, I find that *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, and *Longinus*, who are the three great Authors of Antiquity, that have with the most exact care examin'd into that have best understood, and have pass'd the

true

Demosthenes and Cicero.

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trueſt Judgment upon *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, are very reserv'd in this Matter, and have not presum'd to declare themselves on either ſide. I ſhall ſay nothing of that *Sicilian*, call'd *Cicilius*, who, as *Suidas* tells us, was the firſt that compar'd them together, becauſe his Works are loſt.

Longinus, in his Treatiſe of *Sublime*, having compar'd the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* to Thunder, which over-turns all things, and that of *Cicero* to a great Fire, which devours and conſumes all, that he might not be oblig'd to give his own Judgment of them, refers us to *Terentianus*, who is not ſo clear, as to this point, as he himſelf is.

Quintilian, where he makes a Compariſon of the Qualities and Accompliſhments of theſe two Orators, profeſſes that he does not pretend to determine, to which the Preference is to be given; but declines it as too great a Preſumption, and what would engage him too far in the Diſpute, ſhould he declare his Opinion.

Plutarch, the moſt Judicious and Learned of all the Criticks, having given us the Portraits of theſe two Orators, and put their Fancy, Humour, Tempers, and even their Adventures together in a Balance, dares not make it incline either way, acknowledging himſelf not well enough verſ'd in the *Latin* Tongue to be able to judge between them.

We may, conſidering that *Plutarch* had been Tutor to *Trajan*, and writ in the time of *Adrian*, and that the *Greeks* were a People that never uſ'd to praiſe any Nation but their own, impute this his Reſervedneſs, to an Exceſs of good Breeding, or rather to a Politick Deſign of ingratiating himſelf with the *Romans*. And

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indeed one may wonder, that he did not take that Advantage in Favour of *Demosthenes*, which might have been allowed the Orator from that Series of Time his Reputation had been establish'd, before ever *Cicero* begun to flourish, which was at least three hundred Years. For Reputation, like Nobility, the more ancient it is, is always the more valuable.

But not to depend upon false Conjectures, I think it more proper to sit down contented with this, as the most probable Reason of these three Criticks, who are number'd amongst the most Judicious, not determining any thing in this Controversy, *viz.* the Difficulty of resolving which side to take, when both are so eminently deserving. For a great Search and Penetration into Matters, which in all other Cases is indispensably necessary to qualify us to judge well of Things, is here a Hindrance; and the farther we see into them, and the more we know of them, the more difficult it is to pronounce which best deserves the Prize. For this cannot be determin'd, unless there be some apparent Disparity, which it is as hard to discover, as it is to compare their Wit and Eloquence, there being no certain Rule whereby to measure them. However, that we may draw some sort of Comparison between them, we must fix upon some Principle; according to which, we may proceed in our Examination of these two great Persons, who have hitherto pass'd for the truest Standards of Eloquence.

C H A P. III.

*The establishing a Rule, by which the
Comparison may be made.*

I N order to establish a Rule, upon which we may found a certain Judgment, in Relation to these two great Men, we are to enquire into the Nature of Eloquence, and consider what it properly is. And it being an Art that does entirely exist in the Internal Faculties of the Soul, the Ideas and Conceptions of it have been multiplied according to the different Genius of those that have applied themselves to it. And from hence it is, that every Age has form'd to it self a Character of Eloquence, agreeable to the Humour then prevalent. The Eloquence of *Protagoras*, whom *Plato* calls the Father of the Sophists, was altogether superficial, and consisted only in Words; whereas that of *Pericles* and *Lycias*, consisted in Things. The Eloquence of *Crassus* and *Antonius*, of *Cotta* and *Sulpitius*, of which *Cicero* has left us such beautiful Characters in his Books *De Oratore*, is very different from that of those Declaimers, the Fragments of whose Works we meet with in *Seneca's* Controversies. I shall say nothing of the various kinds of Eloquence, which we find in the Works of *Pliny* the Younger, *Cassiodorus*, *Symmachus*, *Pacatus*, *Mamertinus*, *Ennodius*, and many others, whose Genius seem'd to attend the Fate of the then declining Empire. This is a Survey that would be endless, and admit of infinite Labour. So that considering in how many several Shapes Eloquence

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has appear'd, and how many Revolutions it has undergone, in almost every Age; it seems to me, to be of the Number of those things, which being too general and appearing under too many Forms, cannot be particularly defin'd, so that we can have no certain Account of their State and Condition.

But, however, it will be sufficient for our Purpose, if under so changeable an Out-side, and so many different Appearances, it has preserv'd, unalter'd, that most Essential Part belonging to it, the Art of Persuasion. For all Authors, both Ancient and Modern, that treat on this Subject, do agree, that Persuasion is the Design and End of Eloquence; but are not resolv'd upon the Means that must be used towards the Attainment of this End, they Varying according to the several Methods Men have Invented to touch the Passions. But this is what we must endeavour to be certain of, that we may not mistake in our Comparison.

The End of Eloquence, then being to Persuade, and of Rhetorick to find out Means how to Persuade; the one furnishes us with Materials, and the other sets them at work. But, what is it to Persuade? *Quintilian* makes his *Apollodorus* say, that to Persuade, is to make our selves Masters of the Soul of our Auditor, and to lead him as it were in Triumph wheresoever we please. This latter Part of the Definition, as Figurative as it is, is very Natural; for Persuasion is a kind of bringing into Subjection the Soul of Man; it is a Victory, a Conquest over his Thoughts, and Sentiments, a leading his Will Captive, a Mastery obtain'd over his Passions, and a Despoiling him of what he holds most dear, his Liberty. What can we imagine, or conceive greater

or

or more Absolute than this? How inconsiderable is all other Power and Authority, in comparison with this of Persuasion; whose Empire extends itself over the very Hearts of Men? It was for this Reason, without doubt, that *Xenophon* makes *Socrates* say, that *Persuasion* Lib. 1.
ἀπομν. is more powerful than even *Violence* itself.

It is no wonder then, considering the Natural Inclination all Men have to Govern, that an Art, which so much enlarges our Empire, has had so many Masters to Teach it, and so many Scholars to Learn it. All Books are full of Precepts about this Ambitious Science; neither was there ever so much writ upon any other Art or Science in the World, as upon this one of Persuasion. And that I may not engage my self in a tedious Search after all those that have treated on this Subject, I shall confine my self entirely to six of the *Greeks*, and to two amongst the *Romans*, who have been Celebrated, beyond all others, for their Rules of Oratory, and from whom all that have writ since, have Copied. The *Greeks* that have treated on this Subject, are *Plato*, in several parts of his Works; *Aristotle*, in his Books of *Rhetorick*; *Demetrius Phalereus*, in his Treatise of *Elocution*, *Hermogenes*, in his *Inventions*, and in his *Idea's*; *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, in his *Art*, and in his Construction of Words; and *Longinus*, in his Treatise of *Sublime*. The *Romans* are *Cicero*, in his Books *De Oratore*; and *Quintilian*, in his *Institutions*. But because *Aristotle*, of all the rest, seems to me to have best Establish'd things, and to have drawn the most regular and exact Plan, I shall adhere to him, and stick by his Judgment in those Reflections I shall make upon this Universal Art; the Foundation and Principles of which I am now searching into.

I cannot but own, that *Plato* is always great in his Designs, Sublime and Elevated in his manner of Writing, and admirable in his Order and Method, and in the Execution of whatever he Proposes. He is not so Chimerical, as some of *Aristotle's* Followers of late would endeavour to persuade us. He does indeed Form vastly greater Projects in all Arts and Sciences, than any of those that have writ after him, and his Elevated Thoughts give us reason to believe, that he had a more than ordinary Correspondence with the *Egyptians*. For 'tis from them, who were the first Men of Learning in the World, that we derive those great Idea's of the Sciences we have since Entertain'd: And as their Apprehensions of things were more Conformable to the Simplicity of Nature, as not yet Corrupted by a Multitude of different Opinions, nor Bias'd by the Partiality of particular Sects; so was their Insight more clear and pure, their Notions less Abstracted, and their Views less Circumscrib'd.

Socrates, whom he makes his Wise Man, and his Universal Model and Example in the Sciences, and from whose Mouth he delivers his Precepts to the World, does very well express what he would give us an Idea of; and this Insinuating way, which he makes his Essential Character, is very fine and delicate. But while he endeavours to make him Natural, Easy and Complaisant, by the most obliging and engaging Questions, he Represents him as doubting of the very Things he pretends to Teach. Not but that he gives a pleasant Turn to all he says, and leads as he pleases, the Minds of those he speaks to; yet, notwithstanding all this, whoever Reads his Works,

Demosthenes and Cicero.

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is often forc'd to make Conclusions of his own, because this Philosopher is too irresolute himself. We may derive greater Advantages from *Aristotle*, who is more instructive, more to be Relied on, and that Deviates less from his Purpose. *Socrates*, his Method of beginning with Commendations of that he intends to find fault with in the end, would be proper indeed, in a Negotiation, where one subtle Politician designs to over-reach the other; but that of *Aristotle* being more simple, is more suitable for the Schools; For those that would Instruct, must be Positive in their Assertions.

I shall not here stand to give you the Characters of those four other Greek Authors, who have writ upon Eloquence; tho' I cannot but acknowledge, that *Demetrius* is an Author that passes as nice a Judgment upon things as any of the Ancients; that *Hermogenes* seems one of the most Exact and Methodical, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, one of the most Learned, and *Longinus*, one of the most Judicious. But being Elocution is the Bound, which they pretend not to go beyond, and in relation to which, *Demetrius* touches only upon the Delicacies, *Hermogenes* upon the different Characters, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* upon the Ornaments and Graceful Harmony, and *Longinus* upon the Majesty: None of them have been particular in defining the Nature of that Persuasion we are now searching into. *Cicero* and *Quintilian* have, 'tis true, made some Progress in this Matter; but because they treat of it in the same Method with *Aristotle*, and have indeed, only explain'd his Meaning, I shall have recourse to him alone, in the Discovery of those Essentials which are the Foundations of Persuasion; this being the Rule I intend to Observe, in
order

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order to pass a Judgment upon the Eloquence of Cicero, and rightly to distinguish it from that of Demosthenes.

τῶν δὲ διὰ τὴν
 λόγῳ ποιεῖ-
 σαμένων πρὸς
 τὴν τελευ-
 τῆς ἐν τῇ
 ᾧ δὲ τὸ λή-
 γητος, ἐν τῇ
 ἀκρεβάτην δι-
 αθέσται πῶς.
 ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ
 λόγῳ.

 We Persuade, says *Aristotle*, by the Credit we gain in Mens Minds. There are Three Things that concur towards the obtaining of this Credit, and which are, as it were, the Spring, from whence Persuasion flows. These Three Things are, the Merit of him that speaks, the favourable Disposition of those he speaks to, and the Manner of speaking. And being the whole Art of Rhetorick is reducible to these three Heads, it will not be impossible from thence to draw a Scheme, by which we may, in some Method, form our Judgment of these two Orators.

To begin then with their Personal Merit, we will endeavour to dive into the Depth of their Capacities; for all Personal Worth, that consists, either in our Abilities or Manners, springs from hence. And nothing being more conducing to Persuade, than the good Opinion we raise in the Audience of our Abilities and Integrity, we will see how large a share of these, *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* were in Possession of, and what Impressions they were capable of making upon the Minds of Men, by the Force and Energy of them: And, first of their Abilities.

C H A P. IV.

*A Comparison of the Abilities of these
two Authors.*

D*emosthenes*, having lost his Father when he was Young, fell into the Hands of Guardians, that too much consulted their own Interest ; who partly through Negligence, and partly through Covetousness, took not that Care of his Education which they ought. So that he Learned scarce any of those things, which it is the Business of Parents, generally to fix in the Minds of Children, when they first begin to enter upon a Course of Study. His Mother too, gave Encouragement to this Neglect, by her too great Fondness of him. 'Tis true indeed, he was of so tender a Constitution, and enjoy'd such an ill state of Health, that he could not follow his Studies with much Application. As soon as he was Sixteen Years of Age, which is the proper time for Learning of Rhetorick ; instead of being sent to the School of *Isocrates*, who was then in most Esteem, he was plac'd with the Orator *Isæus* ; because, as his Reputation was less than that of others, so were his Demands ; and it was there he contracted those ill Habits, which he himself tells us, he afterwards broke himself of with great difficulty.

Cicero had the Advantage of being incomparably better Educated than *Demosthenes*. His Parents having discover'd in him a Natural Inclination to Study, took extraordinary Care of him. But tho' at those early Years, when other Children are not capable of applying themselves to any thing,

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*Observa-
tum semper
fere est, ce-
lerius occi-
dere festi-
natam ma-
turitatem.
Fab. Pro-
em. l. 6.*

thing, he shew'd an extream Desire to learn, yet his Father thought it most adviseable to keep him back, rather than to push him on; at which *Cicero* seem'd not a little dissatisfied and impatient, especially when he saw some of his Companions study under one *Plotius*, a Master then in repute. His Father, however, was much to be commended for this Restraint; well knowing, that too early an Application to Study, by endeavouring to ripen the Understanding before the Season, may weaken Nature, but will never bring her to Perfection. And I find that these two great Persons, who attain'd to these Accomplishments, for which they are celebrated all the World over, began their Studies late.

Cicero's Father and best Friends were of Opinion, that the *Greek* Tongue was the fittest for a young Man to begin with, and therefore made him enter first upon the Study of that. All the great Men that came to *Rome*, between the time of *M. Scævola's* Consulship, and the end of *Sylla's* Dictatorship, were his Masters. As that *Pbedrus* he commends so much in his Epistles, and that *Philo* the Academick, and Scholar of *Clitomachus*, whom he mentions in his Book, *De Naturâ Deorum*. As *Molo* the *Rhodian*, whose Eloquence was very celebrated, and under whom he studied at two different Times; and a certain *Sicilian*, call'd *Diodotus*, a great Geometrician, of whom he learn'd Logick, and whom he speaks of in his *Tusculan Questions*. Thus at the Age of Seventeen or Eighteen Years, he had run through with incredible Expedition, the almost Infinite Extent of all the Sciences, which might be any way useful to him, in making himself Master of Eloquence, which he so passionately affected.

At

As soon as he had conquered the Difficulties of the Greek Tongue, he apply'd himself to Poetry, to which he had an early and strong Inclination. At sixteen Years of Age, he writ the Poem of *Glaucus Pontius*, in Imitation of *Eschylus*; and the Year following, that he might the better understand Geometry, he translated the Poem of *Aratus*, of which we have some considerable Fragments still left. He translated likewise, not long after, *Plato's Timæus* and his *Protagoras*, the *Œconomicks* of *Xenophon*, and several other Pieces. *Plutarch* tells us, that from his very first Years, he discover'd a Genius peculiar for all the Sciences, such as *Plato* requires in the Philosopher, he forms an Idea of, who ought to be, says he, a *Lover of all kind of Knowledge*. 'Twas after this manner that *Cicero* spent his Time, till he was twenty six Years of Age, at which Period he began to speak in Publick.

But as on this side, *Cicero* made so happy a Use of his Natural Parts, and such a considerable Advantage of the care his Friends took of him, as to want nothing that might any ways contribute to his Improvement; so on the other, *Demosthenes* found no small Opposition to that Thirst of Glory his Ambition had excited in him. For besides the barbarous Usage he met with from his Guardians, who were so base and sordid, as not to be the least concern'd at his losing his time, in hopes that by that means he would still remain in Obscurity, as it is generally the Lot of the ignorant to do, and so probably not be in a Capacity to bring them to an Account when he came to be of Age; besides, I say, these Disadvantages which he lay under, he met with still greater Obstructions to his ardent Desires of becoming a Master of Elo-

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Eloquence, both from the inward Faculties of his Soul, and the outward Imperfections of his Body. But what Nature did for *Cicero*, an eager Desire perform'd in behalf of *Demosthenes*, which was so violent, that he found nothing impossible or disproportion'd to its Force. So that it was nothing but Ambition that form'd him, and made him conquer the vicious Inclinations of an Age, that had a Relish of nothing but Pleasure, and that too in a City where a manner of Wickedness was Authoriz'd by the ill Example of a People, wholly given to Luxury and Debauchery. And this made him prefer the Conversation of *Theophrastus* and *Xenocrates*, and of the *Platonists*, before that of *Phryne*, in whose House there was a general Rendezvous of all that was notoriously Infamous in *Athens*.

Nay, he would impose upon himself a Necessity of retiring for some time from the Conversation of the World; which he did by a very odd expedient; which was to shave his Head, that upon the Account of the Shame of that Deformity he might be oblig'd to hide himself for some Months. One may in a manner say of him, that he was content to be buried alive, or at least, that he would not live for any other end, but to apply himself to the Study of Eloquence, to which he had devoted all his Thoughts. He was about sixteen Years old when he began to study it, and this Passion was first rais'd in him, upon the extraordinary Applause he observ'd given to *Callistratus*, for some Cause he had pleaded; with which *Demosthenes* was so taken, that he laid aside all his other Studies, in order to apply himself wholly to that of Eloquence.

This Retirement, and all the other Hard-
 ships he underwent, which *Cicero*, *Plutarch*,
Quintilian, *Libanius*, *Lucian*, *Photius*, and ma-
 ny others mention so much to his Honour, are
 evident Tokens and remarkable Instances, of
 the Violence of his Inclinations. And indeed,
 what would he not do to gratifie his Passion?
 Can any thing be conceiv'd more unaccounta-
 ble than to go, as he did, and declaim upon
 the Sea-shore, that by hearing the Roaring of
 the Waves, he might accustom himself so as
 not to be disturb'd at the Commotions of the
 People, and the Noise and Tumult of Assem-
 blies? What is there more painful than to
 Speak as he did with Vehemence, climbing up
 to the Top of steep and craggy Places, that he
 might thereby strengthen his Voice? His
 Tongue was so unwieldy that he could not
 pronounce certain Letters without much diffi-
 culty; to correct which Defect, he us'd to de-
 claim with his Mouth full of Pebble-stones.
 He also practis'd speaking to a Looking-Glass,
 that he might thereby acquire a Graceful Air,
 easie and natural; and he had often recourse to
 a celebrated Comedian of those times to learn
 of him how to Pronounce well, and make him-
 self Master of all the Exterior Ornaments and
 Graces of Actions. And it was by this unwea-
 ried Perseverance, that he came at last to sur-
 mount all those Impediments in his Speech, and
 all those other Imperfections, which so much
 disgusted the *Athenians*, the first time he spoke
 in Publick.

'Tis no wonder then, that *Cicero*, who met
 with none of these Obstructions, enlarg'd his
 Knowledge to a far wider Extent than *Demosthe-
 nes*; who being naturally very eager and am-
 bitious, and finding Eloquence the only way
 C to

*Cui non au-
 dita De-
 mosthenis
 Vigilia?
 Cic. Tusc.*

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to become Great, employ'd all his Study in the Acquisition of it. So that at the Age of Eighteen, he began to plead against his Guardians *Aphobus* and *Onetor*, to constrain them by Law to give an Account of his Estate. Whereas *Cicero*, letting himself loose in a full Carriere in the Universal Pursuit of all the Sciences, ran through them with an indefatigable Application, and so fill'd his Mind with all kind of Knowledge, that could either perfect or adorn his Art.

He fail'd not however at Nineteen Years old to be very constant in hearing the Orations *P. Sulpitius* made that Year he was Tribune, that, by the Imitation of so great a Master, he might perfect himself in the Practice of Eloquence; for he was the Man, who at that time had the greatest Reputation in all *Rome* for his Eloquence. But *Cicero* began not to speak in publick, till he was seven and twenty Years old, which he did in so remarkable a Manner, as drew the Eyes of the whole Commonwealth upon him. All the most celebrated Lawyers, fearing to offend *Sylla*, had refus'd to undertake *Roscins* his Case, who was accus'd of Parricide; when *Cicero* alone, with a becoming Confidence, engag'd in his Defence against the Dictator's Favourite. The Success of this Action was the first Step to his future Glory; but it made too much noise, not to be look'd upon by *Sylla* with a Jealous Eye, and by *Chrysogonus* with meditated Revenge. For this Freeman, who had made himself Master of him that was Master of the Commonwealth, brought upon *Cicero*, by the ill Offices he did him, a Persecution, which ended not till the Dictator's Death.

So being forc'd to leave *Rome*, to avoid the Storm, he saw ready to break upon him, he artfully spread abroad a Rumour, that he did it upon the Advice of his Physician, who told him, that 'twould be much for his Health, to interrupt his Studies, and Travel for some time. He made use of this Pretence for his Retreat, lest he shou'd seem to betray any signs of Fear and Inconstancy, which might possibly diminish the Glory of his last Action, and take off from the good Opinion all Men had conceived of him upon that Account. Thus he staid for some time at *Athens*, where finding himself free and disengag'd from all other Business, he made himself acquainted with the different Opinions of the several Sects of Philosophers, that were at that time Famous. Here he applied himself again to the Study of Eloquence, that he might recover his former Notions of it, and receiv'd new Instructions in that Art from a certain Syrian Orator, nam'd *Demetrius*. This Ardent Desire after Knowledge, put him, in a little while after, upon Travelling through all *Asia*, to be there instructed by the most Famous Men in every Science; amongst whom was *Menippus* of *Caria*, the best Orator of his time, *Eschylus* of *Cnydia*, *Dionysius* of *Magnesia*, *Xenocles*, *Possidonius*, and some others. And, as Eloquence was his chiefest Aim, so wou'd he often exercise himself therein with these Men upon proper Subjects; and by this means he improv'd more, and made a greater Advance in the Study of Eloquence by his Travels, than he could have at *Rome* in his Closet.

About the same time he met with *Apollonius Molo* in *Rhodes*, who had formerly been his Master in *Italy*. This Orator having heard

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*Plut. in
Cic.*

Cicero declaim in *Greek*. spoke that admirable Sentence to him which we find Recorded in *Plutarch*: Go *Cicero*, and ravish from us *Greeks* the only thing that was left us to glory in, our Wit and our Eloquence, and transfer it to the *Romans*.

He learnt, in this Voyage, *Astronomy*, *Geometry*, the Old and New *Philosophy*, the *Theology* of the *Heathen Religion*, the *Customs* of *Athens*, and all the *Laws of Greece*. *Diodotus* taught him the *Mystery of Pythagoras* his *Numbers*, and his *Harmony*. He Studied the *Morality* of the *Stoicks*, under *Philo* and *Clitomachus*. *Antiochus*, who, in *Defiance to Carneades*, oppos'd the New *Academicks*, instructed him in the *Opinions* of the *Ancients*, and *Zeno*, and *Phedrus* taught him those of *Epicurus*, which he has since so much condemn'd in his *Writings*. And at last, after the *Death of Sylla*, he return'd to *Rome* with a *Mind* enrich'd with all sorts of *Knowledge*, and a *Body* restor'd to perfect *Health*, by the *Exercise* he had us'd in *Travelling*.

His Friend *Pomponius Atticus*, and the other *Learned Men* of that *Age*, with whom he kept a continual *Correspondence*, were no little *Helps* to him in the *Acquisition* of all these *Sciences*. 'Tis hard indeed to conceive how one *Man* should understand so many *Sciences*, especially in such *Perfection* as he did every one of them. But as *Eloquence* was that for which he had most *Inclination*, so did he apply himself to it with greater *Care* and *Industry* than to any other *Art* or *Science*; and neglected not the least thing that might any way contribute towards his making himself *Master* of it, and above all, he took a particular care to *Form* and *Modulate* his *Voice*, to compose the

the Air of his Face, and to order his Actions and Gestures as was most becoming. And to this End he frequently consulted *Roscius*, the most accomplish'd Comedian that ever was, that from him he might learn that admirable Art of Pronunciation, which many times stamps a Value upon the most ordinary things, and which is the very Life and Soul of all Publick Harangues,

It was in this manner, that this great Soul arriv'd at this Universal Knowledge; whereas *Demosthenes*, whose Desires were not so vast, applied himself wholly to the reading of *Thucydides*, whom he made almost his entire Study, that so he might make himself Master of the Stile, and way of writing of that Historian. And truly, I do not in the least wonder that *Demosthenes* chose him for his Imitation, when it cannot but be acknowledg'd on all Hands, that we have nothing left us in the whole World that is so accomplish'd a Piece as the History of that Author. Not but that *Herodotus*, who writ before him, is more pleasant and diverting, by reason of the great Variety of the things he Treats of, and his graceful way of Expressing himself, and the fine Turn he gives every Thing. For, not confining himself strictly to the Truth, it was easier for him to affect and please his Reader; whereas *Thucydides*, on the contrary, cou'd not Insert any thing that was in the least Opposite to it, always holding it as an inviolable Rule, which an Historian shou'd not upon any account recede from, never to relate any thing but what is confirm'd Matter of Fact. However *Thucydides*, though his Design be only to instruct us, is not the less diverting on that Account; his Narrations are plain and close, but yet clear and natural

Rerum gestarum pronunciator sincerus
Thucydides, grandis etiam fuit. Cic. in Brut.

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tural too ; and this Plainness has something in it that is Noble, which always keeps up its Character by the Beauty of the Expression. It was upon this Model then that *Demosthenes* Form'd himself, and that he might the more exactly frame his Style in Imitation of this Great Historian ; he writ his History over eight times with his own Hand. Yet one may easily perceive, by the several different ways he takes in composing his Orations, that he had likewise search'd into other Men's Works, and that he had heard *Plato*, with whom no body cou'd converse without becoming wise. Nor is the Opinion of *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, and *Lucian*, altogether groundless, who tell us, that by the means of a *Learn'd Syracusan*, nam'd *Callius*, *Demosthenes* had some secret Communication with the Rhetorical Books of *Isocrates*, and *Alcidamas*, whom *Plutarch* so highly Esteems.

*Cura plus
in illo, in
hoc Natu-
re. Fab.
l. 10. c. 1.*

But, however it may be determin'd in this Point, it is yet agreed on by all Hands, that *Cicero* had a happier Genius, and all the Advantages of Nature in a larger share than *Demosthenes* ; that he spent more time in the Universal Study of the Sciences, in reading *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and all that wrote after them, that had any thing relating to Eloquence, and in Conversing with the most Celebrated Men of his Time, whom he met with in his Travels. So that having greater Advantages of Learning, and better Opportunities of acquainting himself with the Knowledge of things than *Demosthenes* had, his Abilities were doubtless greater. This Capacity is the first Part of that Personal Merit which, as we before observ'd, is so essentially necessary to Persuasion. For the more Understanding a Man has, the more are we inclin'd to believe him ; and we are generally dispos'd to give

our Assent, according to the Degrees of Knowledge we observe in the Person that would persuade us.

C H A P. V.

Of the Second Quality requisite to Persuasion, which is Integrity.

THE Second Part of Personal Merit is Integrity, the Power of which, in Persuading, is far greater than that of the former. For being those that suffer themselves to be persuaded by another, submit themselves entirely to him that persuades, they will certainly do it more readily to one of known Integrity, than to one of suspected Credit. The most Sceptical that are, have a deference for such; and the good Opinion we have of a Man, inclines us to credit him, and to be guided by him, every one thinking it a piece of Virtue to be of the same Judgment with a Virtuous Person; which gave Occasion to that excellent Saying of *Aristotle*, *Amongst all those things that are capable of making a Man to be believ'd, there is none has so much Power as the Honesty and Integrity of the Speaker.*

These two Orators had gain'd the Reputation of being sincere honest Men in so high a Degree, by their wise Conduct, that the People had a perfect Belief of whatever they said. Their Advice was hearkened to as the most profitable; they were look'd upon as the Publick Oracles, and Tutelar Gods of their Country;

try; and that because every one was entirely satisfied that nothing ever proceeded out of their Mouth, but what was in Confirmation of the Authority of the Laws, and for the Service vice and Advantage of the State. The Truth is, they were both Persons of much Honour and Integrity; and the frequent Mention they made of the Gods in their Orations, gain'd them the Esteem of Pious and Religious Men, which has a mighty Influence over the Minds of the People, because Piety is the Rule and Measure of all other Virtues.

And besides this, they prescrib'd to themselves the Practices of such a Popular Morality, the Principles of which refer'd wholly to the Public Good: And because they profess'd to aim at nothing, but what was in order to promote the Glory and Interest of their Country; they always found the Minds of the People ready dispos'd to give them a favourable Attention. The general Esteem they had gain'd, gave them that Air of Authority with which they spoke. This is what may be said of their Reputation, in general; I shall now proceed to speak of what Share each of them had in particular.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Integrity of Demosthenes.

D*emosthenes* was naturally inclin'd to Justice, which he supported and maintain'd by the Study of an exact Morality, and by the Assistance of a Temper inclin'd to Severity.
So

So that he cou'd not, in the Management of his Affairs, make use of those indirect ways which the greatest Politicians commonly Practise. Justice and Equity, Honour and the Publick Good, were always the Considerations that sway'd most with him in all his Proceedings, they were the first Principles of his Conduct. The Philosopher *Panetius* assures us, that in his Deliberations, his common Maxim was, *That all other Interests ought to yeild when they come in Competition with Honesty.* This Morality appears in all parts of his Works; but more especially in his *Philippicks* and *Olinthiacks*, in his Oration about Privileges, in that for *Aristocrates*, and in that for the Crown; and if this last Oration of his be well examin'd into, we shall find that his Zeal for the Publick Good, his submissive Resignation to the Will and Determination of the People; and his devoting himself entirely to the Service of the State, are what compose the whole Art of that Oration; which may justly be call'd the most finish'd of any in Antiquity, and which *Cicero* styles the Rule of Eloquence. In a word, he neglected nothing that might acquire him the Reputation of a good Man; in which he succeeded by the frequent Characters he made in his Orations of a good Citizen, by those repeated Images of a true Patriot, which he drew, and presented to the View of the People in several of his Harangues, as particularly in his third *Olinthiack*. For in publick Actions, the severer all Discourses of Morality are, the better are they receiv'd; and in my Opinion, an Orator has not a more Advantageous way of recommending himself, or of meriting Approbation than by making a strict and severe Profession of Virtue.

Plut. in Demosthe-
ne.

*Regula ad
quam Eo-
rum diri-
gantur
Orationes,
qui Atticè
volunt di-
cere.*

De op.
gen. Orat.

But

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Μακεδόνων
Χρυσία ἀνά-
λαβόντων.

Luc. in
Demost.

But nothing did ever more contribute to the Credit of *Demosthenes*, than the Liberty he took of declaiming against *Philip*. And what cou'd be more glorious for a mean Citizen of *Athens*, than the undaunted Courage he shou'd in declaring himself against a King, already so powerful in the State, as to be in possession of the Hearts of the far greater Part of his Subjects. The Authority, Armies, Threats and Promises of that Prince cou'd never work upon him, and, to use the Expression of *Plutarch*, *All the Gold of Macedonia could not bribe him*. He was Deaf to all the Profers that were made him, which made *Antipater*, one of *Alexander's* Successors, say, *That had any one of his Ministers been as uncorrupt as Demosthenes, he had been invincible*. That which this Prince adds, gives us still a greater Idea of the Virtue of this Orator; *It was the Love of his Country, that prevail'd upon him to undertake the Government; for he made that the Employment of his Virtue, which others had engag'd in to serve their Interest*. Such a Man as this, says he, wou'd be very necessary for me, to Advise with in my present Affairs, to hear him, who wou'd speak his Mind frankly and freely, amidst the feign'd Applauses of Flatterers. Such a sincere and faithful Counsellour it is I seem to want, to direct me amidst all these Court-Dissimulations.

Luc. ibid.

This Prince, who inherited nothing that belong'd to his Predecessor *Alexander*, but his boundless Ambition, believ'd that he should soon have made himself Master of the World, had he but such a faithful Minister as *Demosthenes*; because, *he was one that could not be corrupted, over-reach'd or surpriz'd*. But *Demosthenes*, through a Greatness of Soul not to be parallel'd, without Deliberation, prefer'd even Death itself to all *Antipater's* Favours, and as

he was drinking the Poison in the presence of *Archias*, who was urging him to yield himself up into the Hands of the Conqueror of all *Greece*; Go, says he, and let thy Master know that *Demosthenes* will not, upon any Account, be beholding to the Usurper of his Country. Such was the Probity and Integrity of this great Man, who was a most remarkable Instance of Pagan Virtue, as appears from the Commendation *Lucian* has given of him.

C H A P. VII.

The Integrity of Cicero.

THE Integrity of *Cicero*, was not less valued at *Rome*, than that of *Demosthenes* was at *Athens*. And to this Reputation of his it is, that we may attribute the most remarkable Passages of his Life. For it is certain, his Eloquence alone, with all its Power, had never gain'd him the Voices of the People to make him Consul, had it not been for the good Opinion every one had of his Integrity. But as this rais'd him to Honour, so likewise expos'd him to the Jealousy of his Enemies. *Clodius* was the first who could not endure the Splendor of his Virtue, and made his great Reputation an Instrument wherewith to destroy him. For seeing him so zealous for the Publick Good he look'd upon him as a main Obstacle to his wicked Designs; and therefore as soon as ever he was created Tribune, he made use of all the Authority and Power of his Office, to get him banish'd *Rome*. He spar'd no Violence to procure his Remove, whom

whom he fear'd as a severe Censurer of his Actions.

One need only read *Cicero's* Epistles, which he writ to his Brother, and to his Friends, to discover the Sincerity of his Thoughts, the disinterested Integrity of his Heart, the Purity of his Morals, and his unfeign'd Zeal for the Glory of his Country. What Resolution did he show in Opposing the Young Nobility of *Rome*, whom the Ambition and Debaucheries of *Cataline* had engag'd in his Conspiracy. Those that accuse *Cicero* for boasting too much in his Orations of this great Action, by which he sav'd the Commonwealth, will find more Reason to ascribe it to the great Love he had for his Country, than to his Vanity. For most certain it is, that, had it not been for his Constancy and Resolution in the whole Course of that Affair, *Rome* had been expos'd to the Fury of the Conspirators; who, to raise their Fortunes, which were desperate in Peaceful Times, thought of nothing but embroiling the State. Neither is there any Reason to imagine, that *Cicero* in declaring for *Pompey*, when *Rome* began to be divided into Parties by that Civil War, did it with any other Intentions than those of a good Citizen. It was not because that Party seem'd to have more Power than *Cæsar's*, but because it seem'd to have more Justice on its side; it was in his Power to have made an Advantage of the Offers that *Cæsar* made him by *Trebatius*, if he would have accepted of a Command in the Army, but he would not Desert the State, and we know that that, especially the better part of it, was of *Pompey's* side.

To what can those that accuse him of Timidity and want of Spirit, ascribe that Greatness

Civilibus
Bellis neq;
Specie neq;
metu decli-
natus Cicero-
ni animus,
quominus
optimis Ar-
tibus id est
Reipub. se
jungeret.
Quintil.
l. 2. c. 1.

of Courage which he show'd in opposing *Marc Antony*, whose ill Intentions were sufficiently discover'd, by presenting the Crown to *Cæsar*, at the Solemnity of the *Lupercalia*. I know not whether the Indulgence *Brutus* show'd him in saving his Life, when they took away *Cæsar's* is pardonable in so great a Friend to the State as he was. For had he consented to the Death of *Antony*, as *Cassius* wou'd have persuaded him, the Commonwealth had recover'd its Liberty. However nothing is so pure and uncorrupted, as the Zeal *Cicero* show'd for his Country, against this Ambitious aspiring Man, who thought of nothing, but how he might raise himself by all the unjust Methods he could invent. Not that *Cicero* wanted an Opportunity of being Reconcil'd to him with Advantage, if he would have resolv'd to have Acted the Politician. But he had too just a Sense of his Duty, to engage in any of those Practices which end in the Ruine of the Liberty of his Country.

Neither had he ever entertain'd the least Thought of raising *Augustus* to the Imperial Dignity, had he not judg'd him a proper Person to Oppose the Designs of *Antony*. And that Prince had so great an Opinion of *Cicero's* Zeal for the Good of his Country, that he gave a Publick Testimony of the Esteem he had for him, and such a one as was not in the least to be suspected, being made some time after his Death. For having one Day surpriz'd one of his own Children hiding a certain Book under his Coat, he ask'd him what it was, the Child was unwilling to shew it him for fear of his Displeasure, because it was *Cicero's* Works, whom he had suffer'd not long before to be Proscrib'd : But the Emperour
having

Αγίος ἀνὴρ.
 φιλόπολες.
 Plut. in
 Cic.

having taken it and read some Passages in it, gave him it again, saying, *Read this Book carefully, my Son, for the Author of it was a very able Man, and a great Lover of his Country.* And tho' out of a true Love and Affection for his Country, and the Publick Good, which this Man had cherish'd, and which was most deeply root-ed in his Heart, he very much disapprov'd of *Julius Caesar's* Designs of Ufurpiug the Sovereign Authority, and had sufficiently declar'd this his Dislike to his Friends; yet *Brutus* and *Cassius* would not acquaint him with their Purpose of dispatching him, not out of any Suspicion they had of his Fidelity, which they had no Reason to doubt of, but because they judg'd, that the Sweetness of his Nature, together with his Integrity, would never have permitted him to have given his Consent to so Violent a Resolution.

It was not on these Publick Occasions alone, in which Vanity often acts a greater Part than Virtue, that *Cicero* show'd his Integrity; he was no less Just and Honest in all Private Concerns. He was a good Friend, and a good Father: He lov'd his Children, and deserv'd greater Kindnesses from his Wife, than she show'd him in his Disgrace. Nor was it so much for his Son's sake, that he compos'd that admirably Treatise of Offices, as to give the Publick an Idea of his Morality, which was so little allied to any thing of Interest. And we may safely say, that there was never any thing writ in that kind, with greater Exactness, or with greater Rigor, as to the Precepts; especially if we do but consider, that it was compos'd at a time, when there was no other Conscience but Honour. *Cicero* had likewise the Art of so ordering every thing he did, that had but the least

least Show of Honesty, that he made it serve to enforce his Eloquence, which is never so powerful as when join'd with an establish'd Reputation.

And as nothing is so likely to establish such a Reputation, as an Uniform Course of Life, which consists in preserving a Character answerable to ones Station, and in maintaining it with that Constancy and Resolution, which the Decency of ones Condition requires, Cicero observ'd this Conduct as an indispensable Law, and made it the Rule of all his Actions; and this is the Rock upon which most of those, that profess to speak in Publick, split. For, either they do not apply themselves to the Study of those Decorums which are proper for their Condition, and according to which they are to form a Character; or else, when they have found them, they have not Force and Power enough to Support and Maintain that Character. But, tho' it may be difficult to make our Practice answerable to the Severity and Rigour of our Principles; yet Cicero applied himself to nothing more, than to be the first that should put in Practice what he himself taught others, and Maintain'd upon all Occasions, not only the Dignity of his Profession, but likewise that Evenness and Constancy, which is observable in the Actions of all Virtuous Men.

*Decorum
nihil magis est profecto quam
Æquabilitas universæ vitæ,
tum singularum
Actionum.*
1 Off. Cic.

C H A P. VIII.

Wherein the Reputation of these two Orators, as to their Integrity, was assaulted.

D*Emosthenes* in this was not so happy upon several Accounts as *Cicero*; for he gave that Advantage to his Enemies, that they found Reason to accuse him of having receiv'd twenty Talents with a piece of Plate of great Value, from an Officer of *Alexander's*, who being disgrac'd for Male-Administration of his Revenues, was retir'd to *Athens*. This present brought the Person that receiv'd it under a Suspicion, because it came from one who had been a Creature of the most declar'd Enemy that the Commonwealth had. *Dinarchus*, prevail'd upon by the Enemies of *Demosthenes*, accus'd him on that Account of Bribery unto the People; and such was his Misfortune, that he could not be heard in Justification of himself. The Esteem they had for him was turn'd into Contempt, and after an Imprisonment for some time, he was shamefully Banish'd his Country. *Plutarch*, who gives such high Commendations of him upon all other Occasions, cannot upon any Pretence excuse him in this, tho' *Pausanias*, whom I would rather chuse to rely on, hath endeavour'd to Maintain and Justify his Innocence, and to Represent his Accusation as a meer Calumny.

Paus. in Corinth.

Not but that *Cicero* had the Misfortune as well as he, to be Banish'd; but the Cause and Reason of his Exile, was not so dishonourable; for though the Senate gave Consent to it, yet was that Consent extorted by the Violence of *Clodius* the Tribune, and the Practices of *Piso* and

and *Gabinus*, whose Consulship became odious and detestable upon *Cicero's* Banishment, and was indeed, nothing but a down-right Outrage, and a general Prostitution of all Laws. But what *Cicero* resented most under his Misfortunes, and what touched him most, was, not so much to see himself laid aside from all Employments, as forsaken by his best Friends, and particularly, by *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, whom he most Esteem'd, and who had always pretended a Respect for him. And the lively Description he gives us of his Grief on this Occasion, was an effect, rather of his Tenderneſs, than any Resentment proceeding from Ambition.

The Truth is, he was pitied, and very much lamented by the People, whereas *Demosthenes* was not, because his Reputation was not so Spotless: *Demosthenes*, defended himself indeed, against the Temptations of the *Macedonian* Gold, offer'd him by *Philip*, who was a sworn Enemy to the *Athenians*; but could not resist the *Persian* Present that was made him by *Darius*, who was a Friend to the Commonwealth. *Cicero* on the contrary, carry'd his Integrity to a higher Degree, in refusing the Presents of his Friends, because things of that Nature, from whomsoever they come, render the Virtue of a Publick Person suspected, who ought not to measure his Duty by his Interest. And upon this Account, this great Man being Proconsul of *Cilicia*, refus'd the Presents sent him, by the King of *Cappadocia*, and those made him by the *Sicilians*, when he was Pretor of *Sicily*, tho' both were Allies to the *Romans*. He had so great a Soul, that he thought he could not receive a Gift without some Submission to the Donor. And all great Men, whose Lives and Actions are always expos'd to Pub-
D
lick

lick View, cannot be too ſcrupulous of their Conduct, nor too curious in Matters of Duty, if they would preferve their Reputation entire.

It is urg'd in Reproach of *Cicero*, that having prais'd *Cæſar* to Exceſs in his Publick Oration, he Acted the very Reverse, and abus'd him as much in ſome of his Private Letters to his Friends, which was very ungenteel, and had a Tincture of Baſeneſs, not to be pardon'd. 'Tis true indeed, *Cicero* has ſpoke variously of *Cæſar*, in whom he obſerv'd both Good and Bad Qualities; the Bad he found fault with, and the Good he commended, never miſtaking the one for the other: But it was his Prudence, that made him blame in Secret what was blameable, and commend in Publick what was commendable. And if we do but conſider, that it was only to ſave the Lives of *Marcellus* and *Ligarius*, that he ſo freely beſtow'd his Praises on *Cæſar*; this alone will ſufficiently Vindicate him from this Aſperſion. For what is it that one would not do to ſave ones Friend? And it may be ſometimes no piece of Injuſtice, to praiſe thoſe that do not deſerve it, if it be only to inſpire them with noble and generous Reſolutions, of performing Actions worthy of Commendation.

That which is objected againſt him, about a Houſe belonging to *Cræſſus*, at the Foot of *Mount Palatine*, which he Bought, as was pretended, with a Sum of Money preſented him by a Criminal, nam'd *Sylla*, in order to purchaſe his Favour has ſo little Foundation in it, that it deſerves not Confutation; ſince *Aulus Gellius*, who tells the Story, mentions not the leaſt Circumſtance to make it Credible.

That

That which *Brutus* Reproaches him with in his Letters, is much more specious. That Man, whose Intentions were so good, and with whom what remain'd of the *Roman Liberty* expir'd, accuses him of having been the first that pay'd Adoration to the young *Octavius*, and that indirectly contributed towards the Raising him to the Throne, from whence he had so lately pull'd down the former Usurper: Nevertheless, if any one will but reflect upon the State and Condition of the Commonwealth at that time, the Factions it began to be shaken with, the ill Designs of *Lepidus* and *Antony*; and in fine, the absolute Necessity there was of giving a Master to a People, who amidst such a Division of Interests, and so many different Pretensions, would no longer hear of any Lawful Authority; he will find, that *Cicero* acted with great Prudence, in endeavouring to Ruine all the Parties that were then on foot, by raising this young Man to the Throne, in whom he had reason to believe he might infuse such Principles as were for the good of the State; and also guide, by his own Counsels, that Authority he had given him, hoping he should always have the Ear of him, who had so lately been his Creature. So that if *Cicero* is to be blam'd on this Account, 'tis because he too much confided in the Power he imagin'd himself to have over the Spirit of *Octavius*. But there is nothing, in which great Persons suffer themselves to be more deceiv'd, than in the Presumption they have of being able to Govern others as they please.

Non Dominum fugisse sed amicitiam Dominum quaesivisse videberis. Brut. ad Cic.

Sustinuisse gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noster. Brut. ad Attic.

This Errour is very pardonable in *Cicero*, at a time, when his Reputation was greater than ever: For upon the News of *Antony's* Defeat, the People came and took him by force out of

his House, and carried him in Triumph to the Capitol, out of a Persuasion, that the Success of that Action, was entirely owing to his good Counsels; and from that Time he began to be look'd upon in Rome, as the main Support of the Commonwealth, and as the only Person, in whom all the Authority of the State Resided, as it was then in Disorder, by the Death of both the Consuls, and a general Confusion of Affairs. Most certain it is, that at that time, nothing was done without his Advice, and there was never any private Person that had so absolute an Authority in his Country. Had he not been scrupulous in Matters of Duty, the Occasion might have Tempted him to have set up for himself, in so favourable a Conjunction; when the Weakness of all the Parties, not as yet well Form'd, the Confusion of Mens Minds, the Esteem the Senate had for his Worth, and the good Will of the People, seem'd all to conspire to raise him; so that if it had not been in his Power to have made himself Master of the Commonwealth, he had at least Interest enough to make whom else he pleas'd. But notwithstanding all this, he did nothing but what he thought entirely for the Interest of the Government, and for the Advance of his own Glory. And probably, it was rather out of too much Care and Circumspection, than any thing else, that he gave Occasion for those fatal Conferences, between *Octavius*, *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, upon which soon after was contriv'd that bloody Project of the Triumvirate, which cost the Senate more Blood, than had been spilt on the Plains of *Pharsalia*. The Head of *Cicero* was the Price of the Reconciliation between *Antony* and *Octavius*, for that young Prince, wholly

*Nec in Tul-
lio defuisse
videtur in
ullâ parte
Civis optimi
voluntatem
testimonio
est, ætius
nobilissimè
Consulatus,
integerrimè
Provincia
administra-
ta repudia-
tus viginti
viratus.
Quintil.
l. 2. c. 1.*

wrapt up with his own Greatness, forgot his Benefactor and the Instructions he had given him, and so Sign'd his Death, because he well knew, that his Virtue would by no means submit to the Usurpations of Tyrannical Power.

The Advantages *Cicero* obtain'd in his War-like Expeditions in *Cilicia*, on the Banks of the River *Issus*, and near the Mountain *Ananus*, against the *Parthians*, are sufficient Instances of his Courage, which he had in a greater degree than most Learned Men have imagin'd, who are all Cowards by Profession; and that he had more Valour than *Demosthenes*, who at the Battle of *Cheronefus*, seeing, at the first Attack, the first Rank fall, was so terrified, that he betook himself to Flight amongst the foremost, and was so distracted with Fear, that he mistook a Bush that caught hold of his Coat, for an Enemy, and cry'd out for Quarter. But on the other side, he Dy'd with greater Bravery and Magnanimity than *Cicero*, resigning himself up with a compos'd Countenance, and without much Concern; whereas *Cicero*, on the contrary, discover'd great Uneasiness and Inquietude, that his Destruction was inevitable. Not but that he is with great Injustice accus'd with Cowardice, upon some Letters he writ to his Brother *Quintus*, and to his Friend *Atticus*, wherein he betray'd too much Weakness, by expressing his Thoughts too freely to them. But if we do but consider, that there are certain things at the Bottom of the Souls of the greatest Men, which if we could look into, we should find that they have their Weaknesses as well as others, and are not altogether insensible of Misfortunes and Dangers; and that Heroes oftentimes gain their Reputation, not so much by discovering their good

Plut. in
Demosthe-
ne.

A Comparison of

Qualities, as by concealing their bad ones, and by suffering no one to dive into the Secrets of their Hearts. So that the little Care *Cicero* took of hiding his Failures, ought rather to be ascribed to his too great Sincerity, than to a Little-ness of Soul, or Meaness of Spirit; neither is it by any means a discovering of our Weaknesses, to reveal them to a Friend, which is no more than imparting them to ones own self.

But as we commonly pass our Judgments upon most things, and that too with great Candor, according to their Appearances; so the Art of imposing upon others, and concealing ones self, passes for a very great Accomplishment amongst Politicians. This was not the Principle *Cicero* acted upon, who discover'd himself without the least Reserve, and always thought it the best Courage, to appear in ones own Shape without Disguise. And this Maxim he recommends as a Precept to his Orator.

*Caput Ora-
toris ut ipse
apud quos
agit, talis,
qualem se
ipse optet,
videatur.
de Orat. I.*

C H A P. IX.

A Comparison of their other Personal Qualities.

ONE would imagine, that after having observ'd the Difference that there is between the Abilities, and between the Integrity of *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*, there could nothing else remain worth Remark as to their Personal Merit. But yet each of them were endow'd with such other particular Qualities, which

which, though less Essential to Eloquence, did nevertheless much contribute to the Reputation they had gain'd. The Advantage which consists in the Agreeableness of the Orator's Person, one would imagine to be very inconsiderable; and yet we find that 'tis of great Importance to him; and *Quintilian*, who omits nothing that may any ways conduce to the Perfection of an Orator, gives us this Instruction, that the Care an Orator takes of his Deportment, is of no small Advantage towards his gaining the Hearts of the Audience.

Mirè auditurum dicturi Cura delectat. Ipse Judex se componit. Inst. l. 2. c. 3.

For in order to Persuade, 'tis necessary that we please; we ought to take care that we please in every thing, and it is most particularly requisite, that there be nothing disagreeable in our Persons. In this, *Cicero* may be said to surpass *Demosthenes*, and perhaps to a greater Degree than he desir'd; so that no Comparison can be made of them in this Case, without allowing, that *Demosthenes* took more care of himself as to this particular, and *Cicero* less. For it is observ'd, that *Cicero* was very decent in his Cloaths, and very polite in his Dress, even to Affectation. He lov'd Perfumes, and a Genteel Table; and as he was very pleasant in Conversation, he delighted in Entertainments, and was always very agreeable Company with his Friends. His Raillery was fine and delicate, and he manag'd all his Business with such an Address, that in the most serious Consultations, he would frequently mingle so much of light Conversation, as was enough to refresh the Mind without diverting it from what it was intent upon. This is the proper Character of that Urbanity, of which he gives us the Precepts in his Treatise *De Oratore*. And though it be somewhat difficult

Plut. in vit. ejus August. l. 1. c. 1.

in these times, to judge of the Wit he there proposes for our Imitation, in several Examples of the fine Turn of Words, yet it is certain, that he was very good at himself, seeing *Cato*, as Grave as he was, and as much a *Stoick* as he was, after having heard *Cicero* ridicule the Morality of the *Stoicks* in that Oration of his for his Friend *Murena*, could not forbear laughing, and saying, *I must needs confess, we have a very pleasant Consul.*

*Plut. in
Cic.*

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••

*Luc. in
Demost.*

Demosthenes was not of this agreeable Conversation, he had not so much Wit and Fancy, and when ever he aim'd at it, he was not so happy as to have any Success, as *Longinus* observes in the Comparison he makes between him and *Hyperides*; his Manner of Deportment being more upon the Reverse. He had an Air of Gravity, proper to command Attention, and make whatever he said, receiv'd amongst the People as the infallible Dictates of an Oracle. And as this his serious Demure Temper render'd him Prudent and Circumspect, so it made him Politick, even in his Expences, in which he was guided by his Ambition, which was the End of all his Actions. For he took delight in laying out his Money, in Repairing the City Walls, in Fitting out Ships, in Encouraging Trade, in Ransoming Slaves, in Marrying Poor Maidens, and in Entertaing the People, with Publick Sports and Shows. And tho' he did in some Measure gain the Affection of his Fellow-Citizens, by this Artificial Liberality, yet was all this Perform'd with his accustomed Gravity; it not being in the Nature of him to condescend so far as to do things with that Affability and Air of Popularity, which is so necessary in a Commonwealth.

Not

Not but that *Cicero* was likewise Liberal and that even to Excess, but he took not so much Care in laying out his Money upon things that made a great noise in the World; all his Expences were Great, and upon Noble Accounts, and proceeded more from his Temper and Disposition, than from any Politick Design he had in them. And by this Means, he deserv'd the Name of Magnificent, and Liberal, though he thought it not, and was generally as Generous upon all Occasions, as *Demosthenes* was in some particulars. He is reckon'd to have had Eighteen Country Houses, all very Magnificent, stately Built, and splendidly Furnish'd. 'Tis true, he was not Master of so many Seats at one time. The chief of them were the *Tusculane*, the *Formian*, that at *Cajetta*, that at *Arpinas*, the *Pompeian*, and that he had near *Cumes*. Neither was it so much out of Pride, that he affected this Pomp, though it must be confess'd, he was a little vain, as out of a Nobleness of Soul, which sought the Esteem of a People, that did not in the least disrelish any thing that was Sumptuous, so it were Maintain'd by Wealth honestly gotten. I was perswaded, that it would not be Superfluous to observe this Difference between them, though it have little relation to Eloquence; because all things of this Nature, serve to make a Great Man considerable in a State, that has any Esteem and Veneration for Virtue and Merit.

After all both the one and the other had the Art of managing every thing to that Advantage, so as to make it some way or other contribute to their Reputation: And their Conduct gain'd them such an Authority, as to render them entirely Masters of the Hearts of

Blondel.
9 Rom,
Triumph.

of their Auditors, and to command whatever they persuaded. And this was what was most admirable in these two Orators. For whether we look upon it as the peculiar Gift of Heaven, or as an Effect of their Personal Merit; it is most certain, that never any two single Persons had ever a more absolute Empire over two Nations, that were more Nice and Delicate, and more Jealous of their Liberty. But that we may form a better Judgment of them, we shall do well to observe the second thing, which *Aristotle* tells us, is necessary to the Art of Persuasion; which is, to know how the Minds of the Audience stand affected.

C H A P. X.

That in order to Persuade, it is Necessary to consider the Inclination and Disposition of the Audience.

IF it be true, that Persuasion is a kind of Conquest over the Hearts of Men, an Orator may properly be compar'd to a General, and the Minds of those he is to work upon, to a Place Assaulted; and as Courage alone is not sufficient to carry on an Attack with Success, without understanding well the State and Condition of the Place; so neither is the Eloquence of an Orator, of force enough to persuade, without he apply himself to know the Humour and Genius, and the Interest of those he would persuade.

No body ever better understood or taught the Art of making our selves Masters of the Hearts of Men by Persuasion, than *Aristotle* has done in his Books of Rhetorick, And he is the only one, that knew well how to penetrate into the Heart of Man, the most impenetrable thing in the whole World; that cou'd sound the Depth of that Abyss, and find out the Clue that must guide us through all the Meanders that lead to that secret Recess. 'Tis to him we are indebted, for teaching us how to keep a secret Intelligence with the Soul by the Assistance of the Passions, how sometimes to attempt a Surprize upon it by Fear, or to allure it with Hope; how to win it by moving the Passions, and particularly that of Anger, by raising in it all those Commotions and Perturbations which are capable of forming an Interest there in favour of him that speaks. But unless we can perfectly know in what parts the Soul is most fortified, and in what it lies most expos'd; in what it is most sensibly touch'd, and in what void of all Tendernefs; 'tis a difficult Talk to put this Art in Practice with any tolerable Success.

And though this Philosopher is to be admir'd in all the Parts of his Works, yet is he no where more than in this particular part of them, where he has reduc'd what were before busie, rude and confus'd Instructions of Nature into certain Principles which are so Infallible, that if they be but proceeded upon, they cannot miss bringing us to the propos'd End. It is then from this admirable Book, from this most excellent Epitome of Morality, that we must learn the Art of diving into the Hearts of our Auditors, and of winning their Affections. For unless we can find out and move the most hidden

Nisi Naturas Hominum, vimque omnem humanitatis Orator perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit. Cic. de Orat. l. i.

hidden Springs of the Soul, and search to the Root of the Weaknesses and Infirmities of Humane Nature, what Impression can all the outward Force of Eloquence make upon the Spirits of People?

The common Declaimers are Strangers to this Perfection, who instead of studying the Manners, Inclinations, and Humours of Men, the true Foundations of all Persuasion, employ their Time and Labour in a vain and empty Arrangement of Words; in gathering into one Oration all the Ornaments and Flourishes of Speech, which make not the least Impression upon the Hearers. Whereas on the contrary the true Orator makes it his principal Study to understand the Affections and Interests of his Audience, and observing the different Agitations each Passion produces in their Breasts, makes use of those that are most favourable to his Design; and following the Natural Bent of their Inclinations, moves the same way they tend, and so takes hold on what they seem most prone to, that so he may with the greater Ease draw them after him. And this Violence, which he does to his Audience, is manag'd with so much Art, that they think they go of their own accord, when the Orator drives them. But how few are there that have this Art of making themselves Masters of the Hearts of the People, by thus penetrating into them. The Inconstancy and Mutability of our Inclinations, the Alteration of our Humours, the Diversity of Interests, the Circumstances of Time and Place, and even Chance it self, all which have so great a share in this disposing of Men's Minds towards the bringing to pass any great Event, ought to be the Subjects of perpetual Study and Meditation; an Orator being oblig'd to make use of all

all these Methods, when he would inspire his own Resolutions into an Assembly, and draw them over to his side.

But if the same Men in the same Country, and in the same Day, are often of different Sentiments, according as they are differently possess'd by several Passions, as *Aristotle* has well observ'd, Lib. 1. how much more variable will the Opinions of People of different Climates be, whose Laws, Customs, Manners, and Humours, are so vastly different? And is it not then requisite, that an Orator, that desires to succeed in the Art of Persuasion, should be able to discern all these Varieties, and put on different Forms and Shapes as Occasion shall require? Had not *Cicero* been much mistaken, had he gone about to persuade the *Greeks* after the same Manner he us'd to do the *Romans*? And had not *Demosthenes* been as much in the Wrong, had he pretended to have gain'd upon the *Romans* by that Vehemency, with which he spake to the *Greeks*? But that we may the better judge of the different kinds of Eloquence, which they were oblig'd to make use of upon the Account of the different Tempers of the People they had to deal with, we shall do well to consider the particular Genius of each Nation.

*Natura varia
Græcorum
lunares
multum
inter se
distantia
effecerunt
Genera
Dicendi
Cic. Orat.*

C H A P. XI.

A Character of the Genius of the Greeks in Demosthenes his Time.

THE *Greeks* were so polite and refin'd a People, that they look'd upon all other Nations not only as unlearn'd and ignorant, but

but even as rude and barbarous. But of all the
Graiiis In- Greeks, the *Athenians* were the most polish'd in
genium, all Arts and Sciences, and had the most exquisite
Graiiis dedit Taste and Relish of Eloquence. There had been
ore rotundo so many great Orators bred amongst them, that
Musa loqui. all Polite Learning, by insensible degrees, be-
 Hor. Poet. came as it were Natural to them: *Pericles*, whose
 Harangues they compar'd to Thunder and Light-
 ning, had so accusom'd them to hear nothing
 but what was Fine and Elegant, that those who
 were to speak in Publick, look'd upon even the
 meaner sort of People, as so many Censurers
 of what they were to say. And this their
 accurate Judgment had introduc'd such a Nic
 and Scrupulous Way of Speaking in Publick
 that they dar'd not make use of any one Word
 in their Orations, that was not just and proper
 in its Signification, and Authoriz'd by frequent
 Use.

Sincerrum
fuit sic Eo-
rum Judi-
cium ut ni-
hil possent
nisi incor-
ruptum au-
dire & ele-
gans: eo-
rum religi-
oni cum ser-
viret Orator
 Orat.

Gloria &
Eloquentia
solius libi-
dinosi.
 Tertull.
 Apol.

But as the Genius of this People was very
 much improv'd and refin'd by the Purity of
 the Language, and by the Beauty and Elegance
 of the Eloquence of the Orators, so was their
 Natural Fierceness much increas'd by Flattery
 so that there was admirable Dexterity, and a
 great deal of wise Conduct requir'd to exercise
 the Empire of Persuasion over Men, who would
 always be treated as Masters, and as those that
 had a Command of over all that pretended to
 persuade them. The Law of Ostracism, which
 was made by reason of the insupportable Tyranny
 of *Pisistratus*, did much add to the Haughtiness
 of this arrogant and presumptuous People. This
 Law was instituted by *Heracides* in order to intro-
 duce into the State a Form of Govern

Government, which might exclude from Publick Affairs, and Banish for ten Years all those whose Credit and extraordinary Merit might render them liable to Suspicion. And therefore such as had raised themselves by the most lawful and commendable Means, were to carry themselves so, that their Greatness might not expose them to the least Censure, nor give the least Offence to the Pride of that People, who were always very jealous of too great Merit.

This Law was so rigorously observ'd at first, that *Aristides*, who had obtain'd the Name and Title of *the Just*, and had done so many things for the Glory of his Country, was condemn'd to be Banish'd like a Malefactor, and that too by an unknown, abject, contemptible Fellow, that cou'd not so much as read: And though this Severity had lost much of its Vigor in the time of *Alcibiades*, and was almost quite abolish'd afterwards, as is the Fate of all Laws that are too severe; yet it made such an Impression of Jealousie upon the Minds of the *Athenians*, and created such an Aversion against those that had distinguish'd themselves by their Merit, that the Orators were oblig'd to a particular Care and Circumspection. And the Rules they were to observe, were so strict, as to prohibit all such artificial Ornaments as might in any wise disguise the Truth; and to forbid the stirring up any Passion that might surprize them; because they look'd upon the one as a Snare to entangle their Reason, and the other as an Attempt upon their Liberty. And this render'd their Discourses cold and dry, which proceeded more from the Restraints that lay upon them, than from any Defect in their Abilities. For if we rob Eloquence of its Art of moving
the

the Minds of Men to Pity, we disarm it of its Principal Strength, and leave it only the rough and violent Passions, in which many times the Vehemency of Pronunciation alone has a greater Effect than all the Delicacies of Art.

Julius Pollux observes that there was another Law made by the *Areopagites* against the Use of Proæmiums and Perorations, and against all Digressions in Criminal Cases; because those parts of a Discourse being purely for Ornament, and in order to work upon the Affections, might give the Orator an Opportunity of surprising the Judges, and moving them in his Favour. *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick, and *Quintilian* in his Institutions, both at large explain the Intention of this Law. And there is some Reason to believe the *Greeks* borrow'd this their Severity, from the *Arabians*; for *Averrois*, in his Comments upon the Place where *Aristotle* mentions this Law, tells us, that among them it was the Custom to speak in Publick without the Action and Gesture of a Declaimer, lest the Orator shou'd by these Graces impose upon his Audience. And though this Law was not strictly observ'd in *Demosthenes* his time, as it had been in *Solon's*; yet we may see, that he confin'd himself to the Observation of that Ancient Custom; for without doubt his exalted Genius cou'd not but have furnish'd him with more moving Passages in his Perorations, which are never improv'd to that Degree they might have been. At least, *Quintilian* imputes it to this Law, which he pretends was in full force at *Athens*, even in *Demosthenes* his Time; however, certain it is, that this Custom was of great Disadvantage to him; for unless Elo-

Arist. c. 1. Rhet.

Athenis affectus movere etiam per præconem prohibebatur

Orator.

Quint. l. 6.

Epilogos illi mos Civitatis abstulerat. l. 20. c. 1.

Omnis vis ratioque dicendi in eorum qui audiunt mentibus aut excitandis aut sedandis exquirenda.

Cic. Orat.

quence

quence does employ all its Force to raise or lay the Passions, it can never gain its Sovereignty over the Hearts of Men.

But besides that, the *Athenians* were a proud and fierce People; jealous of their Power, and severe in relation to their Orators, in that, they allow'd them not to move the Passions, on which entirely depends the whole Success of Eloquence: They were so impatient, light and inconstant, that they wou'd on a sudden go from one Extream to another, and run counter to all their own Determinations by sudden and precipitated Resolutions, which broke the Measures of those that were to treat with them. *Thucydides*, *Plutarch*, and *Polybius*, have in several Places of their Works, left us very lively Descriptions of this their Inconstancy; but nobody has better Represented it than *Cicero*, in the Oration he made in Defence of *Flaccus* his Successor, in the Pretorship of *Asia*, who was accus'd of Cheating the State. For he there imputes the many Revolutions in *Greece*, and the Ruin of that Republick to nothing but the Inconstancy of that turbulent and restless People, who wou'd many times be rul'd by nothing but their own Capricious Humour; all the Deliberations of which were so tumultuous and confus'd, that they, whose Revolutions were the most Rash, were the Men whose Counsels were most follow'd. A Turn of the Hand, or an Outcry rais'd by any Factious Fellow in the Assembly, often determin'd the Matter in Dispute, and was the Common Signal of the Advice that was to prevail. And this without doubt was the Reason, that *Aristotle*, who borrows most of his Notions of Go-

In quo uno regnat Oratio.
Ibid.

Thucyd.
l. 1. Hist.
Plutar.
in Lycur.
Polyb.
l. 6. Hist.

Græcorum Respublicæ sedentis concionis temeritate administratur. *Cic. pro Flac.*
Græcia concidit libertate immoderata & licentiâ concionum.
Ibid.

Psephisinata declarata, porrigendâ manu & profundendo clamore

multitudinis concitata. *Cic. pro Flac.*
vernment

vernment from the *Greeks*, made this Observation in his *Politicks*, viz. That the most pernicious and destructive sort of Tyranny was that, which took its rise from the immoderate Power of the People, when they had got the Sovereign Authority into their Hands.

And as we find that those who are most insolent when in Power, are always the most abject, poor, dispirited Wretches, when in Subjection; so the *Athenians* who were so Haughty and Imperious while their Government flourish'd, and was in its Prosperity, were the vilest Slaves to the Successors of *Alexander*, and afterwards to the *Romans*, when they became Masters of them. And indeed, never did any Nation seem more born for Servitude than they. For scarce had *Rome* extended the bounds of its Empire beyond *Italy*, but it began to swarm with *Grecians*, which gave occasion to *Lucian*, who always is full of Raillery, to say, That there was no Business or Employ for any body, in Great Men's Services at *Rome*, but for the *Athenians*.

*De Mercede
conductis.
Luc.*

*Timidi &
imbelles
quales a-
mena Gra-
cia & deli-
cia Orientis
educunt.
Ann. 2.*

Tacitus, treats them after a ruder Manner, for he numbers them in the same Rank with the *Asiatics*, who upon the Account of the Pleasantness and Beautifulnes of their Country, were look'd upon as the greatest Cowards, and as the most Effeminate People in the World. All which make it appear, that this People, together with their Refin'd Wit, and that Inconstancy of Temper, we just now mention'd, had at the Bottom a great deal of Baseness and Cowardice, which put a Necessity upon their Orators of condescending to their Humours, and of adapting themselves to their *Genius*, when they design'd to persuade them. They were forc'd, upon this Principle, to cajole and terrifie

terrific, to awe and flatter them in a Breath; and this is what *Demosthenes*, who well understood their Temper, manag'd with great Success.

It were nevertheless very unjust to include into this Number all those of that Nation, that have distinguish'd themselves from the rest, either by the Glory of their Actions, or by the Excellency of their Writings. For 'tis well known that from them 'tis we derived all our Knowledge in the Polite Arts, and the first Precepts of Honesty, Civility, and of the greatest part of Morality. But these great Persons had many times so little share in the Publick Decrees, that their Merit, of which they have left us so many illustrious Instances, ought not to be admitted as the General Standard of the Character of this People. This small Number of worthy Men, however, does not in the least hinder, but that we may with truth affirm, that no Orator ever had to do with more untractable Spirits than *Demosthenes*, or that ever form'd his Style upon Rules so disadvantageous, in order to bring it to any Perfection.

C H A P. XII.

A Character of the Genius of the Romans in Cicero's Time.

CICERO found a far more spacious Field, and indeed a more Beautiful one to exercise his Genius in. Rome was quite different in this Time from what it had been in the Time of *Qui bene pugnabat Romanam noverat Artem.* the *Ovid. Fast.*

A Comparison of

the first Consuls, and during the Authority of the *Decemviri*, when their rude and savage Natures made all the Virtues, that they gloried in, to consist in the Art of War. She had insensibly lost her former Fierceness by entring into a Commerce with other Nations, and by the Care of *Scipio*, and *Lelius*, who were the first that begun to introduce Politeness, and taught that People to have a Relish of the refin'd Arts and Sciences. *Terence*, by the Assistance of these two admirable Persons, represented to this People, on the Stage, a Pattern of Civil Life, in which he so well refin'd their Manners and their Wit, that *Ennius* and *Pacuvius*, whom they had before so admir'd, began to be very distasteful to them; so that they could by no means pardon the ill Expressions of *Plautus*, whom they had before with too much Patience heard. All those great Men, that from the Time of *Terence*, to that of *Cicero*, were the Men of Note, contributed very much towards the Refining and Polishing of this Nation, though the *Romans* never devoted themselves so entirely to these Studies, and never made so great a Progress in them as the *Grecians* did.

The Truth is, this refining of the *Roman* Wit, did neither lessen their Fierceness, nor make them less jealous of their Glory; but this Fierceness of the *Greeks* proceeded from a Principle of Pride, so did it in the *Romans* from an Excess of Courage. And this made *Cicero* say, *That other Nations were fitly qualified for Slavery, and able to undergo the Yoke; but that the Love of Liberty, and that Greatness of Soul which is requisite in those that are to command, was the proper Character of the Romans.* And the Privilege the *Roman* Laws allow'd young Persons of leaving their Estates by Will to whom they pleas'd

Alia Nationes servitutem pati possunt, Romani propria Libertas est.
6 Phil.
Tu regere imperio populos.
6 *Æneid.*

pleas'd after Fourteen Years of Age, contrary to the Custom of other Nations, is a sufficient Argument, that the Love of Liberty appear'd very just to them, when they Authoriz'd it in their Youth by a Law. Pride was so odious and detestable to them, that they could not bear it so much as in their Masters. Sweetness and Modesty were the surest Methods of gaining their Favour; and as they were wholly given to the Labours of the Field, and to the Fatigues of a Camp, so they detested all those Vices which proceed from Idleness and were never infected with them, till their frequent Conversation with the *Greeks*, after the Taking of *Corinth*.

*Suos agros
studiose
colentes.
Cic. pro
Ros.*

Their Orators likewise were less confin'd in the Discourses they made to the Publick, those severe Rules which were so strictly observ'd at *Athens*, being not known at *Rome*; and unless it was the length of their Oration, which was stinted by *Pompey* in his first Consulship, there was no Restraint upon Eloquence, which might be any Hindrance to it from using all its Arts, and setting all those Springs on work, which might any way affect the Hearers.

In fine, as there reign'd in the Roman Commonwealth a certain Air of Grandeur and Majesty, which had in it something more Solid and Substantial than what was to be found at *Athens*, as *Lucian* observes in his Characters; and as the Romans had Naturally a Love for Equity and Virtue, as *St. Austin* tells us; so were they not in the least addicted to that Levity and Inconstancy of the *Athenians*, which broke all the Measures of those that were to transact with them. And in this, *Demosthenes* had as much reason to complain of his Ill Fortune, as *Cicero* had to rejoice at his Good one, who had met with a

*Plus bonum
que sapud
eos non legi-
bus magis,
quam natu-
ra valebat.
De Civ.
Dei, c. 12.
l. 18.*

People inclin'd to a Passionate moving Eloquence; from which, the *Greeks* receded with as great Abhorrence as they did, from any thing that was expressly forbidden by their Law; so that one might give his Fancy a free Liberty, and indulge it in a full Career, so as to Employ the whole Extent of his Art, in persuading; whereas the other being confin'd within the narrow Limits prescrib'd him by the Laws, was oblig'd to make all the Art of his Eloquence, consist in the Force of his Reasons. And therefore, tho' this different manner of Speaking, gave *Cicero* great Advantages over *Demosthenes*; yet, we cannot from hence Rationally infer, that he deserv'd to be Prefer'd before him. We must then proceed to examine, what that manner of Speaking is, which *Aristotle* makes the third Thing necessary to Persuasion, before we can determine which of the Two had the most Merit.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Third Thing necessary to Persuasion, which is the Manner of Speaking. And of the Art of Eloquence in general.

TH O' the Personal Merit of the Orator, as well as the favourable Disposition of the Auditor, are very powerful Instruments to prepare the Mind for Persuasion, yet the manner of Speaking has the greatest part in making that Impression, and in raising that Commoti-

on which Eloquence produces in the Minds of Men. There is an Eloquence in the very Air of the Person, which persuades no less than that which consists in Words. Persuasion in general, has that admirable Art, which makes so much Noise in the Schools of Rhetoricians, and which all the Declaimers make such fair Promises of Teaching; tho' they understand it not themselves. It is that wonderful Secret of moving the Heart, which Rhetorick has made so long and tedious a Search after, without the least Success, though attended with its numerous Train of Precepts; and it is indeed what we can much easier conceive than express. For it is not in a confus'd Heap of many Tropes and Figures, with which Books are so stuffed, nor in a pompous Arrangement, or in a vain, empty Splendour of many extraordinary Thoughts, which surprize and dazle us with a Glaring Lustre, that this Art of Persuasion consists. For good Sense, which is always most Persuasive, does not sparkle so. Let us then proceed to examine wherein this great Secret consists.

For the better clearing of this Point, we must observe, that the Spriteliness and Vigour of our Natural Parts, is the Principal Ingredient of that Eloquence we are in Search after; *Omnia quæ* so that the Ground and Foundation of it, is *Ars con-* indeed Natural, as it is in all Things, which *summave-* are capable of being Improv'd by Art. And *rit, à Na-* therefore, whoever intends to be a Master of *turâ ducere* Eloquence, must begin with the Study of *initium.* Quintil. himself, with Examining into his own Abili- *Intelligentis* ties, whether he have a Natural Genius *est videre,* for that Noble Art; and if he can observe, *quæ ferat* that his Inclinations tend that way, he must *Natura sua* cherish and improve them, and let Nature *quemque.* guide *Cic. in* *Brut.*

*In quâ De-
liberatione
ad suam cu-
jusque Na-
turam con-
siliū om-
ne est revo-
candum.*

Off. l. 1.

*Tuenda
sunt sua
cuique non
vitiosa sed
propria.*
Ibid.

*Id maxime
quemque
debet, quod
est cuiusque
suum max-
ime.* 6 Off.

*In Actiones
omnemque
vitam nul-
lam discre-
pantiam
ferre debe-
mus.* Ibid.

guide him in the whole Course of his Study. For without this Precaution, all the Steps we take are false, by reason of the false Measures we proceed upon, and the Neglect we are Guilty of, in not making our Search after what Nature has prepar'd for us.

The Rule that we ought to follow, is, with great Application, to learn what our Natural Inclinations are, and then with Resolution and Constancy, to persevere, in cultivating them, when we have discovered the Bent and Tendency of them. We ought always to follow what we find our selves most inclin'd to, especially, in the Case before us; if our Inclinations are not absolutely bad. This is the first thing that *Cicero* advises us to, in his Rules about Decency; because whatsoever is not Natural is Affected, and all Affectation becomes

a real Fault. This is so true, that we find the Air, which is so disagreeable and unbecoming in all those that go, speak, or do any thing affectedly, proceeds from its being Unnatural.

Every one ought to regulate himself by this Maxim, for nothing can be becoming that is forc'd, and what is most Natural, is certainly the most becoming. So that to succeed in every thing we do, and in every manner of Life we lead, we ought not to admit of any Thing, that is by any Means strange and Foreign, or disproportionable to our Genius. For it is hardly credible, how much we injure our selves by these false Methods; and this is one of the most general Causes of the Scarcity of good Orators, tho' there be Numbers that apply themselves to the Study of Eloquence. The greatest part of those that speak in Publick, dissatisfied with the Weakness of their own Parts, strive to imitate those they

find

find to have better Success than themselves ; and this hurries them into that great Inconvenience, which Cicero says, attends those that are subject to an Alteration and Change in their Designs. *It is impossible, says he, that any one should ever be in a capacity of Pleasing, when he leaves the Means that Nature has given him, and borrows from others.* Cicero's Way, without doubt, had never took, had it not been rais'd upon Demosthenes his Bottom, and that agreeable Air, which was so becoming in him, would never have suited with Demosthenes his Bravery. They both understood what fitted them best. This Genius is the Principal of those Natural Qualities, which are absolutely Necessary in order to the Attainment of Eloquence ; upon which I have the more enlarg'd because it is what is generally, either very little known, or very much neglected.

As for the other Natural Qualities, I shall not stop long to treat of them. They consist in a deep Understanding, in good sound Sense contracted and confirm'd by a long Exercise of Prudence and Discretion, whereby is form'd a good Judgment ; the Solidity of which will prove defective, unless attended with a clear, regular, and undisturb'd Fancy. For let the Understanding be never so good, it will miscarry if the Imagination be not rightly dispos'd ; for it is that alone which sets all on Work ; and upon this Account it is, that it becomes of so great Importance. The Voice, and Air of the Face, the Gesture of the Body, with all the Movements of the Exterior Parts, are so many other Natural Qualities requisite in an Orator ; the Perfection of each of which, consists in having such a becoming Grace as adds a Beauty to all our outward Actions.

Learn-

*Nihil decet
invitâ Mi-
nervâ, id est
repugnante
Naturâ.*

*Sic ut de-
corum con-
servare non
possis, si a-
liorum Na-
turam imi-
teris, omit-
tas tuam.*

Off. 1.

Learning and Art, are no less necessary to Eloquence; but these are acquir'd Qualities. As for the first, 'tis most certain, that no Body can have any great Share of Eloquence without it, it will prove but an empty Sound, incapable of making any Harmony, or of producing any Effect without a good Foundation of Learning. And it is upon the Account of this Disorder, that the young Man in the *Satyr*, is so in a rage against the Declaimers of his Time, whom he taxes with being the first Corrupters of Eloquence; because they aim'd at nothing but a vain, empty, flourishing way of Speaking; a specious, gaudy, glaring Eloquence, that had not the least of Substance in it. This was not the way, says he, *Homer, Pindar, Plato, Thucydides, Hyperides and Demosthenes* took, in order to make themselves entire Masters of Eloquence.

This young Man's Indignation, (who was indeed a Youth of much good Sense, and spoke before those that had as little,) was upon this Disorder, much increas'd, when a certain Doctor, a Person of great Experience, to appease him, told him, that this Disorder proceeded from the Professors of Rhetorick, who to allure the Youth, amuz'd them with the dazzling Splendor of Words, which deceives them with a false Light, and pleases only the Ignorant. And that it was likewise in some Measure owing to the Parents, who by ill Education, and by too early putting their Children upon Study, render them incapable of great things, while they pretend to make them most accomplish'd Orators, before they have begun to speak plain. In fine, he concludes with these Words, which, should I translate, would lose all their Force, and be depriv'd of all their Beauty.

Beauty. *Quod si paterentur laborum gradus fieri, Nemo pote-*
ut studiosi Juvenes lectione severâ mitigarentur, ut rit esse omni
sapientia præceptis animos componerent, ut verba laude cu-
atroci stylo effoderent, ut quod vellent imitari, diu mulatus O-
audirent, sibi que nihil esset magnificum, quod pueris erit omni-
placeret; illa grandis Oratio subiret Majestatis sua um magna-
pondus. rum rerum
& artium

This so Rational and Sensible a Discourse, *Scientiam*
 does in general point out to us the Paths we *consecutus.*
 must tread, in order to arrive at that Supream *de Orat.*
 Degree of Eloquence, which gains Admiration.
 And it is certain, that we cannot pretend to
 any thing that is Great and Substantial, unless
 we first stock our Minds with noble Idea's, unless
 we first lay a good Foundation of fine Concep-
 tions, of choice and beautiful Images, which
 the Knowledge of the Sciences will supply us
 with. This is the common and ordinary De-
 fect of those superficial Orators, who think
 to support the Weakness of their Fancy, by the
 Strength of their Expressions, and who di-
 stinguish themselves from others, by cloath-
 ing their poor thin Matter, their little tri-
 fling Thoughts in strong Lines, in great and
 magnificent Words. This is in short, what may
 be said of those Stores of Learning, which are
 so absolutely necessary for those that would me-
 rit the Honour of being enroll'd in the List of
 Orators.

It remains, that we say something of Art,
 which is indeed a Copious Subject of Discourse;
 but I shall not engage far in it, lest I should
 bring my self under an Obligation of Writing
 a whole Treatise upon Eloquence, when I am
 upon a Design that requires no more, than
 that I should give some Draughts that are most
 Essential to a just Comparison. We shall find
 it a Matter of great Difficulty, to determine
 pre-

precisely, wherein the Sovereign Perfection of this Art consists. Is it in a lofty and sublime, or in a strong and forceable way of Expression? In a close well-compacted and concise, or in a pompous and extended Discourse? Is it a frequent Use of Figures, or a plain Stile, that constitutes Eloquence? Does it, in short, consist in the Art of *Protagoras* and *Trasymachus*, who, in *Plato*, make their boasts, that they can persuade to what they please, or in the Natural Plainness of *Socrates*, who really does persuade to what he pleases, and that without the least Ostentation?

Quantis Illa clamoribus adolescentuli diximus de supplicio parricidarum? Quid tam commune quam spiritus vivis? Orat.

The farther we search into this Matter, the more difficult we shall still find it; especially, if we do but consider that Piece of *Cicero*, wherein he does so amply, and so admirably enlarge himself upon the Punishment of Parricides, which had so wonderful an Effect upon the Minds of the People, and which the Orator himself when he came to be more advanc'd in Years, look'd upon but as one of his Juvenile Essays. The Truth is, there is in this Amplification, something too much studied, something forc'd and far fetch'd, something that shows too much Art, and that seems too Elaborate. It is impossible to go through with a particular Detail, which would be infinite, were we to remark all those things wherein Eloquence does not consist, it will be sufficient for our Purpose, if we can observe what is most Real and Essential, in order to make a true Judgment of these two Orators; for which it will be enough to establish some general Maxims, upon which we may form an Idea of Eloquence, in which all the World agree. These then are my Thoughts upon the Matter.

The

The most Essential Part of all things, especially, of those that are to Please, is a certain Grace in the doing of them; which is the Ground and Original of the Agreeableness they entertain us with, of the Pleasure they excite in us.

This was the Principle *Roscio* proceeded upon, and this the Rule that that celebrated Comedian, who was *Cicero's* Master for Pronunciation, often put him in Mind of, and which this Orator afterwards apply'd to Eloquence: That the most Essential Part of this Art, consists in knowing what will be most becoming; but what that is, says he, can neither be Express'd or Taught; though he gives us himself the Explanation of it in his Offices, when he says, that this Decency, this Becoming, is nothing but a Suitableness and just Agreement of our Words and Actions to the Circumstances of Time, Place, Occasions, and Persons. And this is so certainly true, that *Hortensius's* Way of Speaking in Publick, which took so much, when he was young, ceas'd to please when he grew Old, because it was no longer suitable to those Years.

This is the Reason, that *Cicero*, in the Idea he gives us of a true Orator, says, that none can ever come up to that Character, but those that are able to discern what will most become them, and have the Art to Practice it. There is nothing that is so rare and uncommon, as this Art, as he himself acknowledges. Without it, it is absolutely impossible to please, and with it, we can never fail of pleasing, says *Quintilian*. For this disposes all things as they ought to be, into their proper Rank and Places, from whence arises that ad-

Quod ipse Roscio sepe audio dicere, Caput Artis decere. De

Orat. l. 1.

Quod tamen unum tradi artis non potest.

Ibid.

Decet quod aptum est personis, temporibus, atque locis.

Off. 1.

Cum id quod quaque personae dignum est, & fit &

dicatur lb.

Manebat

idem non

dicebat i-

dem. Cic.

in Brut.

Is erit Elo-

quens, qui

ad quodcun-

que decebit,

poterit ac-

commodare

Orationem.

Cic. Orat.

Quero

quem probem, probato Eum, qui quod deceat, videbit. Ibid. Nihil tam difficile quam quid deceat videre. Ibid. Nihil potest placere quod non

deceat. Quintil.

mirable

mirable Order and Connexion of Words and Things, which is always so very pleasing. And the Sovereign Perfection of this Art, consists not so much in Adorning a Discourse with agreeable Graces, as in knowing how to place and adjust them, as that of Painting does in casting the Light, and in placing the Objects in a just Proportion with their Plan. This was *Antony's* and *Cæsar's* great Talent, as *Cicero* tells us in his Orator. One of which could Marshal the several Parts of his Discourse as a General does his Army, and the other dispose of them as a Painter does the Objects of his Picture. This Order thus observ'd, is a great Advance towards Pleasing. For nothing is so disagreeable, as the Disproportion between the Parts of a Discourse, when the Arrangement of the Words and Things is ill contriv'd, when both are not plac'd in a good and regular Order.

There is likewise, besides this Natural Arrangement of the Parts, which makes up the Discourse, a certain Secret Grace in the Speaking of things, which is not to be *Express'd*, and which is altogether as necessary to Eloquence, as the former; for we persuade, as we please. This Gift proceeds from a Natural Happiness, which some have of giving a Turn to their Thoughts, which renders them very agreeable. A Discourse may have its just Proportions, its Ornaments, and all its Beauties, and yet not please, because the subject Matter is not set off with that Air, which is so Taking and so Charming. For there is a great Difference between a Grace and a Beauty. But in what does this Turn, this Air consist, which recommends all that the Orator says, and conveys it insensibly, and with an agreeable Pleasure into

our Minds, and which produces such wonderful Effects in Eloquence? Cicero would fain tell us what it is, but cannot; so that we must return to the former Principle we have Establish'd, which is, that *to observe what is most becoming, is the great Essential of Art.* One may be taught to speak well, but there are no Precepts that can be given for the learning this Becoming Way, which gives such a Turn to every thing. Happy are those that have it; for in that consists all Natural Eloquence, which is vastly different from the Artificial.

The second Principle, which constitutes this Art of Speaking well, is Thinking well upon the Subject of our Discourse, and in this always to consult good Sense, the least Grain of which is of more Value than all the superficial Lustre, the Ornaments of Rhetorick can display. This Wisdom and Prudence, which is the Source and Original of all true Eloquence, as Cicero tells us, includes a solid Judgment, and a clear discerning Faculty, to make us Invent well, and Express things well. There is nothing of greater Importance to Eloquence than this, for whatever is good Sense, is always good Eloquence, and nothing can be truly Eloquent, be it never so Elegant, that is not truly Sense.

Besides this Genius, which has the Art of Pleasing from the Decencies observ'd, and from the Solidity of good Sense, which is so necessary to Eloquence, there is also some Conduct to be us'd by the Orator; and this I establish as the third Principle, which consists in so applying the whole Art of Rhetorick, as not to seem to use the least Part of it. For it is impossible to please, when we discover the Design of doing it, and we can never

*Caput Artis
decere.
Tull.*

*Dicere bene
Nemo po-
test, nisi
qui pruden-
ter intelli-
git. Cic.
Orat.*

*Pars Elo-
quentie
Eloquenti-
am abscon-
dere. Senec.
controv.*

Charm

Charm, when we are known to make that our Aim. *Demosthenes* himself, as great an Orator as he was, was never less agreeable, than when he striv'd most to please, as *Longinus* has observed of him. For Art can never prove Successful, unless under a Disguise, and the more we show of it, the less we shall be thought to have. Nothing can fail of Success with this Precaution; and yet this is a Rule, which we shall find to have been observ'd but by few, because it is a Matter of great Difficulty to please, without seeming to please, and to appear with a negligent Air, when we are most concern'd.

Eloquentiam qui consecuti sunt, dissimulant, quia lingua suspecta est.
Cic

The last thing that ought to be observ'd is, an exact Proportion between the Subject and the Discourse; so that we neither speak of things Great and Sublime, in a low Stile, nor cloath common and ordinary Matter in high and lofty Expressions. There is nothing so Offensive as this Disproportion, which is a common Fault in young Writers, who do often, without the least Consideration, soar above their Subject, when that is low, and as often fall when that is high. We ought carefully to observe that Precept of the Orator, that the *Grandeur of the Discourse ought to be in Proportion to the Grandeur of the Subject*. This Rule ought likewise to be extended to those Persons to whom we Address our selves. For 'tis above all things very requisite to know how to Proportion our Discourse to the Apprehensions of our Auditory, and to guide our selves by their Lights. We ought to speak after a different Manner before Wise and Understanding Persons, and before the Ignorant and Unlearned. This is what *Cicero* and *Demosthenes* both Practic'd. Upon these Principles, we may proceed to
Examine

Quanta ad rem, tanta ad Oratorem fuit accessio.
Cic. Orat.

examine the Eloquence of these two great Men and compare their Characters, that so we may Observe the different Methods they took, and accordingly determine which of them is most likely to persuade.

C H A P. XIV.

A Character of Demosthenes his Eloquence.

D*emosthenes* was of a Cholerick, Melancholy Temper; the Heaviness which proceeded from his Melancholy, made him Obstinate and Resolute in whatever he had undertaken; and his Choler inspir'd him with Vigour and Activity to perform it. Tho' this Temper made him somewhat Chagrine, yet at the same time it made him Serious, which contributed to his Reputation: For it was from his Temper, that the Severity of his Manners proceeded, which gain'd him the Opinion of a Person of great Integrity in the State, and inspir'd him with Courage to declare himself against *Philip* and *Alexander*, the Conquerors of the whole World. And tho' the Power of these two Princes had render'd them Terrible all over *Greece*; yet *Demosthenes* treated them after such a manner, as never was any King by any Private Person, who had no Authority, but that of an establish'd Reputation, and no Power but that of Eloquence.

*Ipsa tristitia & ser-
veritate
popularis.
Cic. de
Cassio. l.
de Clarif.
Orat.*

He had likewise Naturally a great and noble Genius for all the Sciences, and a Spirit that
F enabled

Quintil.

l. II. c. 3.

enabled him to surmount all the Difficulties he met with in his endeavours after Eloquence. After he had well furnish'd his Mind with all the Knowledge that was necessary to his Profession, he applied himself to a certain Comedian whom *Potius* calls *Neoptolemus*, to learn the Art of Pronunciation. *Quintilian* calls him *Andronicus*, and *Plutarch* *Satyrus*; which makes it probable, that being so passionately desirous of succeeding in that Art, he made use of several Masters. *Satyrus*, who was a very good Declaimer, and understood his Art very well, made him begin, as *Plutarch* tells us; with repeating some of *Sophocles* and *Euripides* his Poems in order to Form his Voice; which when he had done, his Master repeated them after him with so much Life and Grace, that they seem'd quite another thing. Upon this remarkable difference in the very Pronunciation, he began to be sensible how very requisite a good Pronunciation is to an Orator; since the very same thing differently Pronounc'd, appear'd it self so strangely different to him.

Thus by the help of these Masters, this young Man found great Encouragement from his Genius and Natural Inclinations, to determine him with Resolution towards the making himself Master of the Art of Pronunciation, as the principal Art in which his Eloquence consisted. And indeed, he added to his Natural Vehemency such lively Exterior Actions, that it was impossible to hear him, without feeling at the very bottom of ones Soul the sensible Effects of his Actions. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that he had a very quick and brisk Eye, the Motions of which he took the Advantage of, to express in his very Face whatever Action was requisite to his Subject, and to make himself look

Ter.

Terrible, whenever there was occasion. He gave his Voice such an Inflexion, and such a Tone to his Words, and such an Air to all his Actions that he gain'd the Admiration of all that heard him.

So that Action was almost the Sovereign Quality in which his Eloquence consisted; and he himself was us'd to say that it was the first, second, and third Part of it; meaning thereby, that the whole Art of Eloquence consisted in Speaking well, whatever he had to say, and that every thing is to be rated according to the manner it is delivered in. But nothing can give us a better Idea of the great Advantage Demosthenes had over all other Men in this Art of Pronunciation, and in a graceful Action, than the Testimony of his greatest Rival. For Eschines being cast in a Suit he was engaged in against Ctesiphon, whom Demosthenes had defended, for Shame and Grief, had retir'd to Rhodes, where some of his Friends Importuning him to repeat to them the Oration he had made against Ctesiphon, he read it over to them; upon which they requested likewise of him, to let them hear that which Demosthenes had made against him, which he likewise did, and read it to them very distinctly, whereupon they all began to admire it; but what would you have done, says he, had you heard him speak it himself, thereby intimating his excellent way of Pronunciation.

To this animating Power of Action, he had join'd the equal Force of great and noble Expressions, of lively Descriptions, of moving Passages, and of Images proper to affect and make strong Impressions upon the Mind. In fine, all his Discourse was full of Expressive Figures, of frequent Apostrophes, and reiterated

*In ipso vul-
tu valent
oculi, per
quos ani-
mus ema-
nat.* Fab.

*l. 11. c. 3.
Pronuncia-
tioni pal-
mam dedit
Demosthe-
nes.* Quint.
l. 11. c. 3.

*Omnia per-
inde sunt,
ut aguntur.*
Cic. de
Orat. l. 1.

*Magis ad-
miremini,
si ipsum
audieris.*
I de Orat.

Long.
Sect. I.

ted Interrogations, which gave Life and Vigour to, and animated all he said, as *Longinus* observes. So that we may truly affirm, that never any Orator rais'd his Anger, Hatred, Indignation, and indeed all his Passions to that height as *Demosthenes* did. And this, doubtless was the Reason that made *Demetrius Phalerius* say, *that he Harangued, as if he had been inspir'd,* and *Eratoſthenes* in *Plutarch*, *that he spoke like an Enthusiaſt*. For he was as it were inflam'd when he spoke, by the Heat of his Action, and the violent Transport of his Imagination.

What ſhall I ſay of that ſharp Style, where-with he ſtir'd up the Minds of all the Commonwealth againſt *Philip*, without any regard to his Quality; of thoſe bitter Invectives he made againſt *Midias*, in order to render him odious and obnoxious to Publick Hatred; of thoſe vehement Transports of Paſſion he was in againſt *Eſchines*, in his Oration for *Cteſiphon*; of all thoſe frequent Invocations of the Gods; of thoſe Apoſtrophes to the Sun and Stars; of thoſe Oaths by Heaven and Earth, by Fountains and Rivers, according to the Maxims of his Religion; and of thoſe ſtrange forc'd Figures, and of all thoſe violent Paſſions, and furious Commotions, which we meet with in the ſeveral parts of his Diſcourſes? To all which, he adds a Tone more Thundering than that of *Pericles*, whom he had Propoſ'd for his Imitation. And this Vehemency of Action, join'd with that of Expreſſion, is what makes up the Character of that powerful Eloquence, which

*Aut qui
non eſt, aut
majorem*

none ever arriv'd to but *Demosthenes*, as *Longinus* assures us, and of which *Quintilian* has left
*qui eſt faciat effectum. Hac eſt illa rebus indignis, aſperis, invidioſi-
vim addens Oratio, quâ præter alias valuit plurimum Demosthenes.*
lib. 6. chap. 2.

us so fair a Description in his *Institutions*, where he says, that *Demosthenes* made what Impressions he pleas'd upon those that heard him, by inspiring them with his own Sentiments and Passions, or by raising those they were already possess'd of; by making them sensible of all his Ardour, and by stirring up in them Anger, Envy, or Indignation against those he was himself against; and this was the Principal Art in which his Eloquence consisted.

He had also a particular Talent in representing things exactly with all their Circumstances, which is of no small Moment in order to gain Credit with the People, to whom all things seem to have a greater Degree of Probability if they are but well Circumstantiated. And he had so exquisite an Art of Painting all things according to Nature, that the meerest Fables, as he related them, wou'd persuade more, upon the Account of that simple plain way he deliver'd them in, than the most substantial Reasons, than the most convincing Truths alledg'd by others. And these kind of Representations of things taken according to Nature, were what he had wonderful Success in.

We are told by *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, that *Demosthenes* his Eloquence was very Artificial; he cou'd turn and wind, and tread the most unbeaten Paths, to come to his propos'd End with the greater Security. And thus in his Oration about the Fleet that was order'd to be fitted out against the King of *Persia*, by Representing to them the Difficulties they wou'd meet with in such an Enterprize, without engaging all *Greece* in the Design; he makes the whole Undertaking so difficult, according to his Account of it, that, though he seems as to all appearance to persuade them to it, yet he in reality dissuades them from it, as he at first intended.

Ut objurgaret populi
segnitiam,
majorum
laude uti
maluit.

Quintil.
l. 6.

Ut meliora
probantes
pejorum
peniteret.
Ibid.

tended. And in the same Manner, when he design'd to blame the Cowardice of the *Athenians*, he did it by Representing to them the Valour and Heroick Actions of their Ancestors.

Quintilian, in the sixth Book of his Institutions, explains this Artificial Turn, which this Orator made use of to surprize his Auditors; and of which he had his first Ideas from *Thucydides*, in the Examples of *Nicias* and *Archidamas*. *Ulpian* observes, that there were but few Examples of this Artifice amongst the Orators of his time.

And this it was without doubt, which gave *Hermogenes* occasion to say, in his first Book of Ideas, that *Demosthenes* was very Artful in concealing his Art. *Ulpian* says the same in more express Words, in his Preface to the *Olinthiacks*: *Dionysius Halicarnassens* particularly commends the excellent ordering of his Discourse, which he marshals with so much Art and Method, that he always ranks every thing in its most proper Place. But although he had a most admirable Talent at displaying his Reasons to the best Advantage, and of establishing his Arguments upon firm and lasting Foundations, yet was he infinitely more expert at confuting those of his Adversaries by the strength of his *Enthymemes*, which were so celebrated by all Antiquity. And he never appear'd more powerful, than when he was most powerfully attack'd, as we may observe in his Oration for *Ctesiphon*, the Success of which rises, as to its Value, in proportion to the Greatness of the Merit of *Eschines*, his Adversary. Never was any Affair transacted by two Orators, with greater Heat and Fury, or with greater Application, for they were full four Years in preparing

paring their Matter. This Animosity which resounded throughout all Greece, brought together from all parts a mighty Concourse of Auditors to assist at this Decision; and to see a Tryal of Skill between these two Great Men, who were so celebrated for their Emulation.

But at this Vehemence was the Principal Quality of this Orator, so Photius assures us, that those Harangues he made to the People, had more Force and Energy in them than those he made to the Senate; for whatever is Great and Noble in Eloquence, is so to Advantage, when deliver'd before a Great Assembly. It is true indeed, that the Credit he had gain'd in the State by the Integrity of his Intentions, Authoriz'd him to say any thing, and to speak to this People with Indignation and Resentment, who were of that Temper, that they must be press'd to their Duty. The Sharpness this Orator us'd, and the frequent Instances he gave them of his being Angry and Enrag'd at them, were not in the least displeasing to them, when they were once sensible that there was a necessity of waking them out of that Lethargy; into which their natural Negligence and Idleness had led them; and Demosthenes, that he might the more securely manage this sort of People, who were truly Proud and Haughty, but withal Timorous and Cowardly, made a great shew of his Zeal for the Good of the State upon all Emergencies. They had accusom'd themselves to bear his Invectives and Reproaches, by Reason of the Fruit they often reap'd from his good Counsels. Neither was he himself Ignorant how requisite it was sometimes to appear Angry and Severe, that he might be Useful to those that heard him.

There was nevertheless in this Austere kind of Eloquence, a great deal of solid Reason, of sound Judgment, and good Sense, without any false Colours, without any thing that is weak or superficial; and his Reproaches, how severe soever, were always taken in good part, because he back'd them with such weighty Reasons and Arguments as were irresistible. His Language was the common Dialect, having nothing in it that was far fetch'd, or exquisitely Nice, and yet it was very Pure, and highly agreeable to the Delicacy of Taste then prevalent at *Athens*. But he had an Art of giving his Language, as plain as it was, all the Life and Vigour that cou'd be; so that he pleas'd by the Vehemence of his Action. And now that we may the better make our Judgment of the Value of his Eloquence, we shall do well to observe the Effects it produc'd.

C H A P. XV.

The Effects of Demosthenes his Eloquence, and the Commendations the Ancients gave of it.

THough all the Men of Learning have had a mighty Contention amongst themselves, who shou'd speak most in Commendation of this Orator; yet nothing that any of them have produc'd in his Praise, seems to me comparable to what *Lucian* says of him by the Mouth of *Alexander's* Successor. *Had it not been for Demosthenes, says King Antipater, I had taken*

ken Athens with less difficulty than I did Thebes; but he was every where to oppose my Designs; he cou'd by no means be surpriz'd, but was alone more formidable than whole Fleets and Armies: What wou'd he have done, had he had the Command of an Army, or the Administration of the Publick Revenues, when we found it a Matter of such difficulty to defend our selves against the very force and power of his Words.

King Philip reflecting how terrible this Man wou'd have been, had he had any Warlick Command, when the Thunder of his Eloquence was so dreadful, says in the same Place, *Let no one call the Athenians my Enemies, for I know none I have but Demosthenes: It is he alone that wages War with me, that opposes my Designs, and frustrates all my Enterprizes.* And indeed, 'twas his Eloquence that join'd all Greece in a League against the Macedonians, that brought the Thebans into the Alliance, though they were before engag'd to Philip; and this notwithstanding, that Prince had sent to Thebes two of his greatest Ministers of State, *Amintas* and *Clearchus*, to secure his Interest, and oppose the Designs of Demosthenes, who was there as Envoy from the Athenians.

So that this incomparable Person gave that Prince more trouble, and more confounded his Affairs by the Sole Power of his Office, than the Pyreum with all its Gallies, or the united Force of all Greece. Nay, his Fame was so great, that as soon as it was known that he was to speak in Publick, there was a great Concourſe of People from the Neighbouring Parts to hear him. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* confesses, that whenever he read one of Demosthenes his Orations, he found himself so strangely mov'd, that he was not himself, but was wholly possess'd with the Spirit of that Author; he was fully sensible of, and

Ut concursus ex totâ Graciâ fierent cum Demosthenes dicturus esset.
De claris Orat. Cic. Epist. ad Am.

much

much touch'd with all his Passions of Hatred, Anger, Pity, Indignation, and Hope; and all he said, made the same Impressions upon him, as the Mysteries of the Goddess Cybele did upon her Priests. I am not surpriz'd at this Charm, at this Enchantment, which so mov'd and affected this Learned Man, when he read *Demosthenes*, for as he was himself of a very penetrating Judgment, so he did easily comprehend the Reasons, enter into the Thoughts, and take all the Views of this Orator; and by a kind of Sympathy of Souls, dive as far into them as if they had been his own Thoughts. And there is no one but will find the same Effects from reading the Oration of *Demosthenes*, if he read them with the same Attention and Preparation of Mind as this Orator did. For we cannot but be touch'd with them, if we are rightly dispos'd.

One need only be at the Trouble to read *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Demosthenes*, to be acquainted with the strange Effects of his Eloquence. But when I had read that, nothing seem'd to me to tend more to the Honour and Glory of this great Man, than what *Quintilian* says of him, *That it was the Eloquence of Demosthenes, that made Cicero an Orator.* And this is what *Cicero* himself acknowledges, when he says, *That he made it his Endeavour to follow him, but cou'd never attain to it.*

*Ciceronem
quantus est
magnâ ex
parte fecit.
l. 10. c. 1.
Instit.*

*Demosthe-
nem imite-
mur quid
aliud agi-
mus? at
non assequi-
mur. Brut.*

I mention not the Advantage *Demosthenes* gain'd over *Python* the Orator, and prime Minister of State in *Philips's* Court, whom *Diodorus Siculus* so much commends: Nor that Success he had against *Hyperides* and *Phocion*, so admir'd by *Plutarch*; but shall pass on to those Commendations the Men of Learning have given this incomparable Orator.

Era-

Eratosthenes in *Plutarch* says, *There is something Divine in Demosthenes* his Eloquence. *Leosthenes* in *Lucian*, assures us, that *Demosthenes* his Discourses are the only ones that to him seem to have any *Life and Vigor* in them. *Theophrastus* being ask'd what he thought of *Demosthenes* his Eloquence, answer'd, that he found it much Superior to the Merit of the Athenians. *Polyeuctes* the great *Spectian* Orator, who had a share in the Administration of the Publick Affairs, and who liv'd in *Theophrastus* his time, gives this as his Opinion, that *Demosthenes* was the Greatest of Orators. *Aristotle* presenting this Great Man to *Alexander*, assures that Prince, that the Greatness of his Genius, and the Force of his Eloquence had made him admire him above all others. *Alexander* the Great, call'd him the most Powerful of all Orators in the Art of Persuasion, and said, That his Eloquence was enchanted, because he cou'd persuade to what he pleas'd. *Menedemus* in *Cicero*, says of him, That he had the Art of moving the Passions, and raising them as he pleas'd.

Luc. in
Demost.

Hermogenes in his *Ideas*, testifies of him, That the Character of this Orator, was the most Perfect and Compleat of any. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* says, That he surpass'd in Eloquence all his Predecessors, Successors, and Contemporaries. *Suidas*, that he express'd with a wonderful Force what he had premeditated. *Cicero* searching for a perfect Orator in the Idea he gives us of one, declares, that there is no Example, to be found of an absolutely perfect Orator but in *Demosthenes*. *Valerius Maximus*, assures us, that his very Name alone gives us a Notion of all that is Great in Eloquence. *Longinus* files his Eloquence naturally Great and Sublime, and of the most consummate Perfection. *Plutarch* and *Quintilian* have said more on this Subject than all the rest. *Antonius*, in his Epistles to

Symma-

Symmachus says, *That never any cou'd ever arrive to the strength of Demosthenes his Reasonings.*

Eras. in
Demost.

These Eulogies may be oppos'd to the Invectives of *Juvenal* and *Sidonius*, who have Reproach'd *Demosthenes* with the Obscurity of his Birth, as if the Faculties of the Soul, and the natural Abilities of every Man, depended upon the Circumstances of his Nativity. I pass by in silence the Commendations that have been given him by our Modern Writers, but cannot omit what one of the most considerable hath said of him, *That no one can well understand the whole Art of his Enthymemes and Argumentations, but according to the Advances they have made in Learning, and the Knowledge they have in Rhetorick.* I shou'd never draw to a Conclusion, were I to take in all that might be produc'd upon this Subject; what hath been already said, may suffice, to give us an Idea of the extraordinary Worth of this Great Man, and a just Estimate of his Merit.

C H A P. XVI.

A Character of Cicero's Eloquence.

NEver was any Person Born in a more happy time for Eloquence, nor his Birth accompanied with more remarkable Circumstances, than was that of *Cicero*. He was descended of a Father, that was a Person of very good Quality, and came into the World at a time, when the Government was in its most flourishing Condition, at a Period, when all Knowledge was come to its Perfection, and in an

an Age the most Refin'd and Polish'd that ever was. Nature, which for the most part brings forth her Productions at all Adventures, without any choice of Materials, or other design than to go on in her old beaten Tract, did not observe her Rules, did not keep to her Principles in what concern'd him; for she never was more favourable to any one that was design'd for a perfect and most accomplish'd Orator. She began with adorning his Body with all those Graces that cou'd make him lovely, and with furnishing his Mind with all those natural Qualities that were proper to render him an extraordinary Person. His Melancholy, which, according to *Aristotle*, is the common Temper of great Wits, had nothing in it that was dull or heavy; and what is very unusual, there was never any one single Person that was Master of so much solid Reason, and had so much Vigour and Vivacity at the same time.

He had a great Soul, a penetrating Judgment, a neat, plain, and regular, but a rich and fruitful Fancy, a tender Heart, a taking Air, a charming Delivery, a handsome Face, a good Voice, a pleasing Address, a commanding Presence, and a general Agreeableness in all Respects. *Plutarch* assures us, that he was so aimable in his tender Years, that the Fathers of those he studied with, took a delight in seeing him at School. Those vaste Stores of Knowledge, and those immense Treasures of Learning, with which he had, with so much Care and Labour, replenish'd his Mind, after many Years spent, and many Voyages undertaken in the pursuit of the Polite Arts and Sciences, added Weight and Authority to all he propos'd, and made him speak with the greatest Solidity that can be imagin'd. And indeed,
without

without this Foundation of Knowledge, Eloquence is but a confus'd Heap, a meer Trifle or Tone, fit only to make a Noise in the World.

Besides this Solidity, which includeth so much Sense and Prudence, he had a certain Spriteliness of Wit, a peculiar Grace, which gave an Embellishment to all he said; so that whatever was the Product of his Imagination and Fancy, he gave it a fine turn, and made it appear in the most agreeable Colours. Whatever he treated of, whether it were the most abstruse Questions of *Dialect*, the most Barren parts of Natural Philosophy, or the most perplex'd intricate Cases of the Law; whatever came within the Compass of his Discourse, though never so entangled, though never so surrounded with Difficulties, did still share of that Gayety of Spirit, of that Spriteliness of Wit, and of those Graces that were so Natural to him. For we must own, that never any one ever had the Talent of Writing so judiciously and so agreeably at the same time, that never any one ever yet had the Art of mixing so much good Sense, and so much good Wit together.

He has most exactly drawn his own Character, in that he has given us of *Crassus*, whom he has describ'd as the most accomplish'd Orator of his time. *He had*, says he, *much Gravity in his Discourse, but that Gravity was free and pleasant; he was Elegant without Affectation, he had a popular Air, supported by the Dignity and Grandeur of his manner of Expression.* And in Truth, he can by no means be look'd upon to have acted amiss in thus drawing himself in the Person of him, whom he prefer'd to all others, and whom he look'd upon as the most exact Model of Eloquence. And this is the Reason

Crasso nihil statuo fieri posse perfectius. In Brut. Crassus personam Marti Cicero nis sustinebit. Map. in lib. 1. de Orat.

son why, in his Book *de Oratore*, he expresses his own Sentiments upon the Subject of Eloquence by the Mouth of *Crassus*, and seldom speaks but in his Person, to give more weight to what he says, and to authorize his Opinions. And as his Knowledge was Universal, so did he write equally well upon all Subjects, which is a certain sign of the Greatness and of the Excellency of his Genius, which admitting of no bounds, was capable of succeeding in whatsoever he engag'd in. And this also, is one of those chief Commendations *Cicero* gives his *Crassus*. There are many other things to be said of him, were we to descend to particulars.

But after all, the principal Perfection of his Eloquence, was his admirable Talent of affecting the Heart upon Pathetick Subjects, by that wonderful Art of moving the Passions, the Ground and Foundation of which he had from Nature, and which he so well improv'd by a constant Study of *Aristotle's* Rhetorick. For in that alone is the whole Artifice of Eloquence predominant, in that alone it displays it self in its full Lustre and with all its Force, by the great Motions and violent Impressions it makes in the Heart in stirring up the Passions. *Cicero* was Master of this sort of Eloquence in so eminent a Degree, that in Cases of high Importance, when several Orators were to Plead, he had always those Parts assign'd him, in which he might be most Pathetical, because he had greater Success in that than all others of his Profession. *Brutus* himself said, That though *Hortensius* was so well qualified for Eloquence, as to vie with *Cicero*, or at least to oppose him in any Cause, and upon any Affair, were it of the greatest Moment, and of the highest Importance; yet he, without the least Contenti-

*Versatus in
omni gene-
re causa-
rum.
Cic. in
Brut.
Tullium
habemus in
omnibus
dicendi ge-
neribus
eminentis-
simum.
Quint.
l. 12. c. 9.*

*Hoc est
quod domi-
natur in
judiciis,
hec Elo-
quentiam
regunt.
Quint.
l. 6. c. 2.*

on,

*Ut plango-
re & la-
mentatione
forum com-
pleremus.
Orat.*

on, most freely yielded to him in the Art of Peroration, because it was Cicero's Sovereign Perfection to be moving, and to make Impressions upon the Minds of the Judges by the Turns of his Eloquence. And in this he had such wonderful Success, that sometimes he wou'd force Sighs and Tears from all that stood round the Bar. These strange Effects proceeded from a singular Art he had of working and insinuating himself into the Heart through the Mind; where by the force of his Reasonings, he was able to Sow those Seeds from whence those ardent Motions sprang, which he made use of to shake the Resolutions of all that heard him.

That he arriv'd to this height of Perfection, is principally owing to the Qualities of his Natural Temper and Disposition: For he had a very tender Soul, and a soft passionate Air. In the second Place, the Graces of his Delivery and Pronunciation, gave him a very easie admittance into the Hearts of his Audience, who finding themselves surpriz'd by so many Charms, had not the Power to make any Resistance. But to all these Natural Beauties, he likewise added an infinite number of Artificial ones, which he display'd throughout his whole Discourse, by an Eloquence embellish'd with all the Figures and Ornaments of Speech; and this is, what is one of the Brightest and most Resplendent parts of his Character: For never had any one Person in any Language so fluent a Tongue, or such a command of Words.

Plainness maintain'd by a great deal of good Sense, and supported by an Air of Majesty is, in my Opinion, the Sovereign Perfection of Discourse. I find in the Expressions of the Ancients, who are our truest Models, three different

different Characters of Plainness. In *Cæsar* a naked Plainness, a pure Simplicity; in *Petronius* an affected one; and the third in *Cicero*, who knew how to choose a just Temperament between these two Extrems, in order to compleat the Character of Expression he had Form'd, which, in my Opinion, is the most perfect of all. *Cæsar* is too plain, *Petronius* not plain enough, and *Cicero* as he ought to be. For in avoiding Barrenness of *Cæsar*, and the Affectation of *Petronius*, he knew how to interweave his Ornaments, how to mix them with such things as were capable of receiving them, and how to cut them off from such as deserv'd them not, without soaring above his Subject; as Men of little Spirits, of mean and narrow Capacities, and as those that come under the Character and Denomination of Juvenile Writers, are us'd to do; so that the Plainness of *Cicero's* Discourse, is more or less, according as the Subject requires.

His Metaphors are neither too dazling, nor too hard; his Discourses run easie and natural; his Connexions neither forc'd nor far fetch'd; all his Figures and Ornaments rang'd in their proper Places: His Thoughts are great, and it is hard to determine whether he was more happy in choosing or in expressing them. In fine, he never wanted in his Expression any of those Qualities that are requisite in order to please or affect his Audience.

In short, he had a greater Soul, more Wit and Fancy, and a larger Extent of Knowledge than *Demosthenes*, and succeeded better in all the kinds of Writing. And St. *Augustin*, as Learned as he was, never speaks, but with

*Viluit mihi repente
omnis vana
Confess.*

spei, & immortalitatem sapientia concupiscebam astu incredibili.
lib. 3. cap. 4.

G

the

the greatest Admiration, of a Book which Cicero writ, upon the Love of Wisdom, which bears the Title of *Hortensius*; with which that great Father was so affected, that every thing else appear'd mean and despicable to him, having conceiv'd a most incredible Ardor, a most insatiable Eagerness for the Love of this Wisdom.

CHAP. XVII.

The Effects of Cicero's Eloquence, and the Commendations that have been given to it.

*Omnia incrementa
sibi debuit
vir novitatis
nobilitatis
sine. Vel.
Pater.
Primus
omnium
parens patrie
appel-
latus.
Plin. Hist.
l. 7. c. 30.*

WE need not wonder then, that the Effects of so Accomplish'd an Eloquence were so wonderful; for it was that alone, which without any other help, but the Virtue of the Orator, rais'd him from a Man of no Note, and whose Ancestors had bore no Civil Offices, to the highest pitch of Grandeur, and made him Master of the Common-wealth. It was that, by which he deserv'd the most glorious Title, that ever any private Person could hope to be honour'd with, and which all the Conquerors that went before him cou'd never attain to: For he was call'd, the Father of his Country; which is the most proper Title, to satisfy the Ambition of a Sovereign, who has a Soul great enough to give him a just pretence to an entire Mastery over the Spirits of Men, by establishing his Dominion in their Hearts. It was in fine this Eloquence, which triumph'd

triumph'd over *Cesar*, even then, when he return'd from Conquering *Pompey*; even then, when he began to ascend the Throne, and become Master of the greatest Empire in the World.

For *Cicero*, being now come over to *Cesar's* Party, undertook the defence of his Friend *Ligarius*, who was accus'd of having born Arms against *Cesar*, notwithstanding the great Obligations he had to the contrary. *Cesar*, who had already condemn'd him in his Heart, had yet a great Curiosity to hear what *Cicero* cou'd say in his defence, whom he had not had the opportunity of Hearing for a long time, by reason of his Absence and Business in the War, which was then just ended; and therefore, when some of his Friends wou'd have dissuaded him from it, his Answer was, *What matter* Plutarch. *is it? Let us hear him, for I have already enter'd* in Cic. *upon a Resolution that is not to be shaken.* But this Orator spoke so bravely in the defence of his Friend, that he mov'd the Heart of *Cesar*, notwithstanding all the Resistance he cou'd make. And *Cicero*, having mention'd something to *Cesar's* Praise, that happen'd in the Battel of *Pharsalia*; that Prince found a sudden and strange Commotion all over him, so that, as if he had been Enchanted, he let some Papers drop which he had in his Hands. In fine, he cou'd not resist such powerful Charms, nor that subtle Artifice, that fine and delicate Manner, which the Orator made use of to commend him; and though he had taken a firm Resolution before-hand, of not being overcome by the Eloquence of this powerful Orator, yet was he at last forc'd by his Rhetorick to pardon *Ligarius*. *Nihil soles oblivisci nisi injurias. pro Lig.*

I mention not a Favour like this, which *Cicero* obtain'd for King *Deiotarus*, and for his Friend *Marcellus* of the same Emperor, who was so entire a Master of his own Resolutions, and so difficult to be perswaded to any thing. We need only look into the Comments *Freigius* has made, and that with wonderful Method, upon the Orations of *Cicero*, in order to give an Account of the particular Success of every one of them, to learn the Power of his Eloquence. But I pass by all the many Instances that may be given, to haste on to that Remarkable one of *Catiline's* Conspiracy, by which he acquir'd so much Glory.

Lucius Sergius Cataline, was a Roman of great Quality, but of a very dangerous Spirit, by reason of an intimate Union of the greatest Virtues, with the greatest Vices. He had great Thoughts, and vast Designs, a hardned and obdurate Heart, a Soul confirm'd in Impiety, a strong and vigorous Constitution: He was temperate, very watchful, and always upon Action; never cast down by adverse Fortune, close and dissembling, by an Affectation of Frankness and Candor, subtle without the least appearance of Cunning, and never doing any thing without Design. He was Liberal of whatever he had even to Prodigality, and insatiably Covetous of what he had not. He had made himself Master of a sort of Eloquence, proper to harangue Malecontents with, and to colour over and maintain the most wicked Practices. He had an Art of promoting his Enterprizes, by engaging his Person for the consequence of any Undertaking; and there was nothing that he engag'd in, but he might have pursued more home, had he had but Conduct and Resolution enough

to weary out the Obstinacy of his ill Fortune. For never was any Person more brave and daring, and at the same time more unfortunate than *Catiline*.

An Enemy of this Importance, who had engaged all the most considerable, and indeed the most extravagant part of the Youth of *Rome* on his side, starting up against *Cicero*, at a time when *Pompey* was engaged in a long and troublesome War, against the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*. So that *Rome* was then unprovided of Forces, and exhausted of all her Wealth by the Luxury of the Times; and most Peoples Minds and Affections, whom *Sylla's* Dictatorship had lately shaken and disturb'd, were still Unsettled and Fluctuating.

In so cross a Conjunction of Affairs as this, did this Turbulent Seditious Fellow, having found all *Tuscany* and great part of *Lombardy* inclineable to a Revolt, appear a Candidate for the Consulship, which he put up for, in the Name and upon the Credit of *Cæsar*, who had engag'd himself in this Design, the more to Countenance and Authorize him. These his Pretensions were likewise supported by several Persons of Quality, who declar'd themselves more openly than *Cæsar*; for that Prince understood so well, how to behave himself in Affairs of this Nature, which were generally very hazardous, that he never engag'd, but when he had Numbers to engage him; but when he saw so many already declar'd, as took away all possibility of Danger to himself, whatever happen'd; so that, tho' he had a share in most of the ill Practices that were put in Execution against the State in his Time, yet he chose his side with so much Caution and Prudence, that he never was surpriz'd in any one

Unum ex-
omnibus
Cæsarem ad
everten-
dam Rem-
publicam
sobrium
accessisse.
Sicut in
Jul. Cæsar.

of the Conspiracies; and this made *Cato* say of him, *That of all those that had contriv'd any Plot against the State, Cæsar was the only One that came soberly to destroy the Commonwealth, the only One that endeavour'd its overthrow with Moderation and Conduct.*

Cicero, had nothing to oppose to this horrid Conspiracy, but the Power of his Eloquence, which alone brought it to nought, without any other Succours but what were supply'd him from a firm undaunted Resolution. For having made *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* the two chief of the Conspirators, that were then to be found in *Rome*, his Prisoners, he gave Orders to have them Beheaded before him. The People were so surpriz'd at this bold Action, that by the Advice of *Catulus*, who was then President of the Senate, together with that of *Cato*, they decreed such publick Honours to their Deliverer, as were beyond all Example. And it was upon this Account, that *Cicero*, by his unfeign'd Zeal and unshaken Courage, merited that Glorious Name, of *the Father of his Country*; which has since been the Proudest Title, with which the Vanity of Emperours have been much transported, and with which their Creatures have always flatter'd and cajol'd them. After so brave an Action, upheld and maintain'd by the whole Force of his Eloquence, all the Party was so dispirited, that *Catiline* was fain to quit *Rome*, the People beginning to be inflam'd with Indignation against him.

Non tan-
tam Urbem
fecit Ro-
mulus,
quantam
Cicero ser-
vavit. Tit.
Liv. in
Sen. Decl.

And upon the account of this glorious Action, *Rome* was more beholding to her Consul, as her Deliverer, than to *Romulus* as her Builder; seeing her Being first Founded, was a thing of meer Chance, but her Preservation, at such a critical juncture, was the effect of the most

most Prudent and Generous Conduct that was ever known. The War which the Commonwealth engag'd in against *Antony*, who by reason of his Consulship, had grasp'd the whole Government into his Hands, and the Raising of young *Octavius*, were as wonderful Effects of *Cicero's* Eloquence, as the Preservation of the State, from the Ruine it was threatned with by *Cataline's* Conspiracy.

And indeed, in this particular, this Orator did more than he himself intended: For he design'd nothing in raising *Octavius*, but the Destruction of *Antony*; but the great things he said in Commendation of the Virtues of that young Man, plac'd him so high in the Esteem and Value of the People, that it immediately rais'd him to greater degrees of Honour, than ever *Antony* enjoy'd; and that advantage over *Pompey*, which cost *Cesar* so much Blood in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, was not so great as that which *Cicero's* Eloquence alone gave *Octavius* over *Antony*. For this young Man had so much Discretion, as to make use of *Cicero's* Nomination of him for Consul, and of the Publick Employments he put him upon, as so many Steps and Advances to the Empire; a Design which *Cesar* compass'd with so much Difficulty, tho' he had the most Experienc'd of the *Romans* Legions to assist him, and had the Command of the Forces of the greatest part of the World, who, Inspir'd by his Valour, might have been put upon any Attempt, in Favour of their Prince.

The Reputation of *Cicero's* Eloquence was so great, when *Bestia* and *Metellus* were Tribunes, that both of them us'd their utmost Interest to hinder him from ever Speaking in Publick, because of the too great Power he had in Persuading.

A Comparison of

I shall not here stay, to transcribe at length the Opinion of all the Men of Learning, upon the Eloquence of this admirable Orator, which would be very tedious, when there are none but have eminently signaliz'd themselves by the very Praises they have given of this great Man. But I cannot omit the Testimony of the two first *Cæsars*, and of some others which are too considerable to be pass'd by. *Julius Cæsar*, as *Quintilian* reports, says, that *Cicero* Triumph'd oftner, by Virtue of his Eloquence, than all the rest of the Romans by their Arms. *Augustus* in *Plutarch*, says, that he was a very great Orator. *Hortensius* assures us, that *Cicero's* chief Talent lay in moving the Hearts of his Audience, which is the greatest Commendation that can be given an Orator. *Aufidius Bassus* says, that his Eloquence was so extraordinary, that He seem'd Born for the Safety and Preservation of the Commonwealth. *Titus Livius*, in a Fragment of his which we find in *Seneca's* Declamations, says, that never any Person had gain'd so much Admirati-
Vir natus ad Reipublice Salutem. Delectari ante Eum paucissimis, mirari neminem vero possis, nisi aut ab Illo visum, aut qui illum viderit. Hist. l. 1. Extra omnem aleam ingenii posuit. Hist. Nat. Prof.
 on by his Eloquence as *Cicero*; that he was happy in his Works, and in the Recompence and Reward of them. *Paterculus*, that no one could be a Master of Eloquence to Perfection, but he that had been Conversant with *Cicero*. *Pliny*, the Historian, that no Body is to be compar'd to him. *Quintilian*, amongst many other Commendations of him, with which his Books are full, declares, that this great Man was a Gift sent from Heaven, in whom Eloquence took a delight to display all its Power, and to unfold all its Riches, and that it was a shame not to yield, when he Persuaded.

I mention not that Famous Epigram, which *Catullus* made in praise of *Cicero's* Eloquence, nor what *Juvenal* says, in Commendation of him in his Eighth Satyr; *Martial* in the third and

and fifth Books of his Epigrams; *Cornelius Severus*, in his Poem, *Pliny* the younger in his Epistles, and *St. Jerome* in his Epistles to *Ne-porian*, and in many other places of his Works, I shall pass over in silence, the Elogies of *Aurelius Victor*, *Cassiodorus*, and of an infinite Number of others, who have done themselves Immortal Honour, by the Praises they have given of this great Man. This is what I had to say in particular, what I had to remark more distinctly, of the different Characters of the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*. I come now to draw the Comparison between these two Characters, which is the Principal Design of the whole Discourse.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Comparison of the Characters of the two Orators.

BEfore we pretend to decide any thing, in order to Reconcile those that have declar'd themselves in Favour of either of these two Orators, it will be very proper to establish this undeniable Maxim, that, tho' every thing hath but one Metaphysical Truth, yet it may have several degrees of Perfection and Goodness, which may consist in very different Qualifications; and this is what may sufficiently Authorize the several Relishes of Men, and justify the various Judgments they make of things. For every Perfection may have in its kind, different Degrees, and be of a large Extent, but the Truth of it cannot admit of that Latitude,

Latitude, which being a perfect Conformity of our Apprehensions to the Object, must of necessity, be still and for ever the same.

But, if this Maxim be found to be true in other things, it will prove much more so in Eloquence, which requires so great a number of different Qualities, in order to its Perfection. And this, without doubt, was the Reason, why Cicero makes *Brutus* observe, that tho' *Cotta* and *Sulpitius* were both Orators in Perfection, yet their Talents were vastly different. For *Sulpitius* his Sovereign Excellency, consisted in the Force and Vehemence

O magnam, of his Discourse, whereas that of Cotta was
inquit, Ar- all Sweetness and Gracefulness; whereupon,
tem? siqui- *Brutus* speaking of them cries out, *O the admira-*
dem istis, ble Art of Eloquence, which has so great an Ex-
cum summi cellent Ora- tent of Perfection! for *Cotta* and *Sulpitius* were
effent Ora- both of them accomplish'd in their way, tho' each of
tores, dua them wanted some considerable Qualifications. And
res maxi- this is what makes *Cicero* confess, That there may
me altera be two accomplish'd and perfect Orators, tho' they be
alteri de- of very different Characters. Because there are in
fuit. Brut. Eloquence, as in all other things, Beauties of
In oratori- very different kinds.
bis possunt
esse summi,
qui inter se
diffimiles
sint. Ibid.
In aliis
dignitas
oris, in a-
liis venu-
flas. Ibid.

So that, according to this Principle, we may judge between *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, without giving the Preference, either to one, or the other; and decide their Merit, without allotting the Prize to either; seeing both the one, and the other, are in their kinds Sovereignly Perfect. I shall therefore remark the Differences that may be observ'd in the Comparison of these two great Persons.

As for Invention, which is the first of those Natural Qualities that are necessary to an Orator, it is difficult to determine, which of them had most, since they both were Eminent
 for

for it, in so vast and elevated a Degree, and in so extraordinary a manner. But as the Fancy gives the Invention all those fine Turns, which so Beautify and Adorn it: so Cicero, having a more pleasant, and a more agreeable Imagination, had by consequence a finer Invention. Their Judgments seem to have been equally solid; there is nothing to be found in them that is either false, or built upon a wrong Foundation; all is Real and Substantial, and they both equally knew the Art of adding Eloquence to their Solidity, and strictly observ'd that Precept of Aristotle, in his Rhetorick, who teaches us, *that Persuasion is affected, by giving a Natural turn to the most common things.* And these common things are order'd by them both, in so excellent a manner, as can admit of no Exceptions.

Their Expressions are proper, pure, and neat, without the least Affectation. Tho' Demosthenes, by reason of the Copiousness of the Greek Tongue, allows himself a great deal of Harshness in his Words, which Cicero avoids, who keeps closer to the Purity of his Language. His way of Expression is more Modest, according to the Character of the Latine Tongue, and the Diction of Demosthenes, more Elegant and Delicate; but the Delicacy of Cicero, is neither soft nor effeminate, as Seneca observes. Both of them are equally strong and powerful in the Sublime, and in that Elevated way of Discourse, which Longinus treats of, and which he calls *the Image of a Great Soul.*

Proprietas
penes Graecos est.
Quint. l.
12. c. 10.

Cap. 9.

Their Thoughts, and Expressions, are Strong and Noble, having nothing in them that is Creeping, or that is Flat and Insipid: And are always attended with a Character peculiar to them, always accompanied with a certain Air of Majesty, which so much distinguishes them from all other Orators.

But

But as the Genius of *Cicero* was more Universal than that of *Demosthenes*, and his Learning of a greater Extent, and his Character more general; so had he the Advantage over him, of leaving no kind of Eloquence unpractic'd, no Parts of Oratory, wherein he had not Exercis'd himself, as I observ'd before.

Demosthenes had confin'd himself to the Business of the State, and of the Bar, that is, to the Judiciary and Deliberative Parts of Eloquence, and scarce ever writ any thing in the Demonstrative. For the Commendations he gives *Chabrias* the General, in his Oration against *Leptinus*, are languid and faint, in Comparison of those which *Cicero* gave *Pompey*, in his Oration for the *Manilian Law*. *Libanius* also pretends, that the Funeral Oration upon those that were kill'd at *Cheronea*, which is to be found amongst *Demosthenes* his Works, is not his, because the Style of it is too low. He affirms the same of the Oration of Love, because it is too Soft and Effeminate, and not agreeable to his ordinary Style. *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, is also of the same Opinion, who likewise observes, that *Demosthenes* his Periods are very Round and Harmonious, and of a very regular Number; in which *Cicero* comes not behind him in my Opinion.

Quorum
Virtutes
plerasque
arbitror si-
miles, Con-
cilium, or-
dinem di-
videndi,
preparan-
di, proban-
di ratio-
nem, omnia
denique
quæ sunt
Inventionis,
Quintil. l.
10. c. 1.

The design of the Discourse, the Order, Divisions and Arguments, and all that any way depend upon the Invention, are much alike in both these Orators; and that, because they both had resolv'd to follow no other Pattern, but that of Nature, which is the only Rule we must Govern our selves by in all these Matters, if we would Succeed; and as they both Proceeded upon the same Plan, so is there but little difference to be found between them, in relation

lation to things of this Nature. Not but that in the Argumentations of *Cicero*, his Logick seems more Exact, and less Intricate than that of *Demosthenes*. It is also probable, that the Art of Syllogism, which *Cicero* had Studied with so much Application from *Aristotle's* Logick, was not so much in Practice in *Demosthenes* his Time, whose Argumentations being only plain Enthymemes, were more Natural, and more Agreeable to the Vehemency of his Passion, which was very Pressing and Urgent. And his Art of deducing particular Consequences from universal Principles, which *Aristotle* reduc'd into a Method, and which *Freigius* has so well Collected out of *Cicero*, is much more Insinuating, and suitable to his manner of Writing.

Amidst these Resemblances, these are the chief Differences to be met with between these two Orators. *Demosthenes* always takes things in a higher Tone than *Cicero*, and is more Passionate; He is likewise more Grave and Serious, he sets about his Business resolutely, and Pursues things with Courage, without having any Respect of Persons, no not, tho' they were Crown'd Heads. As soon as ever he was got into his Office, he treated *Philip* with Scorn and Contempt, without the least regard, either to his Person or his Crown: Nay, he does as it were Degrade him, and Strip him of all his Honours, that he may treat him like a private Person, for he calls him *The Man of Macedonia*. He likewise delights sometimes, out of an Austerity of Morals, which was Natural to him, to humble the Pride and Haughtiness of the *Athenians*, who were so Jealous of their Authority. And as his Peevish Cholerick Temper was Visible in all he said,

so

*Riget ejus
Oratio, ni-
hil in illâ
placidum,
nihil lenè.
Sen. Cont.*

so did he give himself up so entirely to the impetuous Current of his Humours, that it was but very seldom that he was Cool, and without Passion, when he spoke. *His Discourse is Rough and Harsh, and never Smooth or Moderate.*

Cicero is a greater Master of himself, and of all his Passions; he manages his Auditors to better Advantage, and takes more gentle Measures; he has nothing that is Rude, nothing that is Surly and Rough, but is pleasant and agreeable, even in his Anger and Indignation, and has the Art of pleasing in whatever he speaks. It was he that first made the *Romans* sensible of the Pleasures of Eloquence, as *Plutarch* observes of him in his Life, and that knew how to make that most delightful and pleasant, that was most Honest.

Demosthenes discovers in every Reason that presents it self to him, all that is Solid and Substantial in it; and has the Art of setting it forth in its full Strength and Vigour. *Cicero*, besides this Solidity, which never escapes him, does likewise lay hold on all that is agreeable and engaging, and never fails of his Aim in the pursuit of it. The Torrent of *Demosthenes* his Eloquence is so violent and rapid, his Reasonings so close and so numerous, his whole manner of Writing, has in it a height so like Rocks and Precipices, as *Longinus* expresses it, that it is great difficulty to follow him. Whereas *Cicero* forces his Auditors to go before him; he so moves the Minds of those he speaks to, and so affects their Hearts by his different Movements, that they guess before-hand what he has next to say, and in a manner prevent him. And when he first begins to speak of any thing, they find which way he tends by his Address, and by the Methods he makes use of,

Ἐν ὅλῃ
τὸ πλεον
ἐποτόμῳ.

of, to let them know from whence he comes. So well he knew all the Springs and Turnings of the Heart of Man, and this was his great Art and chief Master-piece.

Thus, that we may distinguish the Characters of these two Orators by their real Differences, we may affirm, according to my Opinion of the Matter, that *Demosthenes*, by the Impetuoufness of his Temper, and the Force of his Arguments, and the Vehemence of his Pronunciation, was more pressing than *Cicero*: As *Cicero*, by his soft and gentle way, by his smooth insinuating and passionate Movements, and by all his Natural Graces, is more affecting than *Demosthenes*. The *Greek* struck upon the Mind, by the force of his Expression, and the Ardour and Violence of his Declaiming: The *Roman* made his passage to the Heart, by certain pleasing and imperceptible Charms, which were Natural to him, and which he had Adorn'd with all the Art Eloquence is capable of. One dazled the Mind, by the Splendour of his Lights, and brought a Disorder upon the Soul, by surprizing the Understanding; and the Insinuating Genius of the other, by pleasing and delightful Passages, would slide into the very Heart. He had an Art of entring into the Interests, and of falling in with the Inclinations, Passions and Opinions of those that heard him.

And in this Distinction, I believe, may be found the Explication of that Passage of *Longinus* in his Comparison between *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, a Fragment of which is still left, and which it would not be easie to understand, without the Light of this Observation. For, at first view, that Similitude of Lightning, which he makes use of to express the Eloquence

Sect. II.

quence of *Demosthenes*, and that of a great Fire, to which he compares the Eloquence of *Cicero*; gives us no very distinct Idea of the Difference between their Characters. One would imagine, that he meant no more, than that the Eloquence both of the one and the other, was so Powerful, that nothing could resist it. The Eloquence of *Demosthenes*, says he, is a Whirlwind, and a Clap of Thunder, that overturns all things, and that of *Cicero*, like a great Fire, which devours all things. So that Violence and Impetuoufness make up the Character of *Demosthenes* his Eloquence; and the Progress of a great Fire, which advances by Degrees together with the Heat and Insinuating Virtue of Fire, are the Principal Qualities of *Cicero's*. The *Grecian* breaks out like Thunder: The *Roman* warms and inflames like a great Fire. And therefore *Longinus* adds, that *Demosthenes* never fail'd of Success, when he was to strike Terror into the Minds of his Audiencce, and to work upon them, by strong Representations and violent Motions. But when it was necessary to go to the very Heart, and to Insinuate ones self into the Mind, by all those Graces and pleasing Charms, which Eloquence is Mistress of; then it was, that *Cicero's* Art was Triumphant, and that his diffus'd enlarged Discourse, succeeded far better than *Demosthenes* his more close and concise Style; and the one is no more prevalent by the Eclat, the surprising Strength of his Reasons, than the other is by the warming and affecting Motions he raises.

We should have learnt much more of this Matter from this Judicious Critick, were the Place where he makes this Comparison but perfect and entire, but the greatest part of it is lost,

lost, to the no small Dissatisfaction of his Interpreters. But however, he says enough to establish that Distinction I have made between their manner of Writing; which I find likewise conformable to *Plutarch's* Opinion, who in his Comparison of these Two Orators, says, that *Demosthenes is, throughout all, concise and close, and every where very pressing, without the least Ornament of Beauty, whilst Cicero scatters his Graces throughout his Discourse, and is every where pleasing and agreeable.* *Philostratus* in his Lives of the Sect. 28. Sophists, and *Dionysius Halicarnassens* in his Epistle to his Friend *Ammeus*, pass the same Judgment on *Demosthenes*; and *Longinus* pretends, that he has always something hard in his Style.

But in thus distinguishing between the different Qualities of the Eloquence of these two Orators, we must come to some Temperament, to some Agreement, and admit of a Limitation too: For *Cicero*, tho' he was generally moving and affecting, could not, when it was requisite, add to his Natural Sweetness, so much Passion and Indignation as his Subject requir'd, or the most Transported Spirit was capable of; as appears in the Orations he made against *Verres*, *Piso*, *Clodius*, *Vatinius*, *Catiline*, and *Antony*. *Demosthenes* likewise, is not so absolutely given to be Violent and Passionate, but that he can sometimes be as Soft and Gentle, as Moving and as Affecting, as we may see in some Passages of his *Olynthiacs*, in the Oration about the Liberty of the *Rhodians*, in the Defence of *Diophanes*, and that of *Ctesiphon*, and in the Oration against *Midias*, though the Principal Character of this last is Vehemence. But seeing the Genius of *Demosthenes*, his Nature, his Art, his Austerity of Morals, and his Action, inclin'd

H

him

him to be Pressing and Violent; and all the Natural Qualities of *Cicero*, were such as made him please and affect; I am of Opinion, that we may distinguish them by these two different ways of Writing, in which consist their Sovereign Perfection, and their Essential Character. And it was, without doubt, for this Reason, as much as out of Inclination and Compliance with the Natural Bent and Tendency of his Affections, that *Demosthenes* dealt more in Accusations than *Cicero*. For he hardly ever undertook the Defence of any one, his severe Humour leading him to the Direct contrary. And *Cicero* accus'd but very few Persons, for his Nature was more inclin'd to Sweetness, to Pity, and Compassion, and it was against his Will, whenever he accus'd any Man, as he himself tells us.

Yet *Cicero*'s Genius being more Universal than that of *Demosthenes*, he knew better how to turn himself to all things; how to Transform himself as he pleas'd, and to Act any Character. He understood likewise, by a secret Art peculiar to him alone, how far to urge and pursue a thing, when it was requisite to be very Pressing; which in my Opinion, *Demosthenes*, by indulging himself too much in the Bent of his Inclinations, did not observe, and in which it was very easy to exceed. For no Body delights in being continually Importun'd and Press'd, but every one is always dispos'd to be mov'd and affected with what is pleasing, and to be entertain'd with what is agreeable. And this was *Cicero*'s great Talent, who always pleases, and by the Pleasure he affects us with, inspires into us what Sentiments he will. It is this agreeable Air, which being diffus'd, and spread through all he says,

con-

constitutes that sweet obliging and engaging Eloquence, which has such powerful Charms.

But besides that *Demosthenes* had nothing in his Nature, that was tender and compassionate, but was all Harshness and Severity, the Laws of his Country prohibited him from making use of any thing that was moving and affecting, as I have before observ'd. So that he was cold and languid in his Perorations, which are commonly no more than plain Conclusions of what he was about, or at best, but so many meer Wishes, so many Vows and solemn Supplications for the Glory and Interest of his Country, which he made with Fervency, to give some kind of Life and Vigour to the Conclusions of his Discourses.

CHAP. XIX.

Which of the two Ways of Writing is the best in order to Persuade.

IT will be no hard Matter, by what I have remark'd upon Eloquence in general, to determine, which of the two Ways of Writing so remarkable in these two Authors, is the most preferable.

The Orator who persuades most, is, without all doubt, the most Eloquent. And being we persuade but in proportion as we please, the Art of Persuasion being one and the same with that of Pleasing, as *Quintilian* observes; we may venture to affirm, that *Cicero*, who pleases more than *Demosthenes*, ought, in this particular at least, to be esteem'd more Eloquent than he.

A Comparison of

And if there be a double Art of Persuasion, one that works upon the Mind and Understanding, and another upon the Heart and Will; we may proceed to examine which is the most proper for Eloquence.

The Persuasion of the Understanding is effected by a dazzling Lustre of much Light, and by a violent Impulse of Reasons, which the Mind cannot resist. It works in a certain Elevated Manner, and with such a Force and Violence, as surprizes and confounds the Faculties, according to the Observation of *Aristotle*. But the Persuasion of the Heart, is produc'd by those Graces and pleasing Charms, which captivate the Will, and entertain it so delightfully, that it is pleas'd in forsaking its own Resolutions, and in losing its Liberty. For as the Understanding does not assent to any thing but the Evidence of Reason, and is guided only by those Lights, which are most illuminating, so neither can the Will yield it self to any thing, but what is most agreeable and most pleasing. It never ceases to act voluntarily in submitting its Liberty to the Pleasure that carries it away, because in that it follows the Bent of its own Inclination, which is to be pleas'd.

It is enough, that one have ones Senses in due Order to be mov'd at the Heart; but no one can be persuaded in his Understanding, unless he enjoy his Reason in Perfection, that is, is able to understand the Force of a Consequence. So that the Orator, that makes it his chief Business to please, in order to persuade, goes a surer way to work than he who strives to do it only by Conviction, because every body is capable of being affected with what is pleasant.

It is without doubt for this Reason, that, according to the Opinion of *Cicero*, the Multitude are better Judges of Eloquence, than the Learned. For besides that, the People are not prepossess'd with those Sentiments and Notions, about which the Learned World dispute, they judge, as we may say, according to the Heart, which is less Subject to be impos'd upon than the Understanding, which suffering it self to be dazled with false Lights, is liable to take things otherwise than they ready are: Whereas, the Heart, which judges only according to what it feels, cannot be mistaken; for 'tis impossible it should have any Impression made upon it, but from what is really and actually in the very thing it self it receives it from. Only natural and true Beauties affect this, when false and apparent ones please the Understanding, whose Relish of things is not so pure and uncorrupted as that of the Heart.

Quod probat multitudinem, idem doctis probandum.
Cic. in Brut.

And this Eloquence, which works upon the Understanding, is no more than a bare simple Instruction, not a true Rhetorick, like that which *Socrates* mentions in *Plato*. And though there be some Minds on which nothing will work but the Force of Reason, and which must be convinc'd before they can be perswaded; yet I think it not proper to be always pressing and urging; for certain it is, that we are more willing to yield our selves up to a easie and gentle, than to a fierce and haughty Conqueror. And this is the Reason why *Homer*, who makes his *Nestor* a Master of Eloquence in Perfection, gives him Sweetness as the Principal Character of his Eloquence.

Cui Socrates non docendi, sed persuadendi facultatem tribuit.
Quintil. l. 2. c. 15.

However, that Eloquence which works upon the Understanding, has more glorious Effects, than that which affects the Heart. A

H 3

Heart

A Comparison of

*Nihil citius
arescit La-
crymâ.
l. 6. c. 1.*

Heart that is affected, is no such Subject for the Triumph of an Orator, as a convicted Mind, as the Understanding humbled and brought into Subjection; and that kind of Persuasion, that strikes upon that, makes a more lasting Impression, because that Reason which gave the stroke still continues the same. But that which touches the Heart, vanishes with the Heat of that Passion that produc'd it, because all things that proceed from Passion, are very transient. In fine, as the Opposition made by the Understanding, is overcome with greater Difficulty than that Resistance we meet with from the Will, so is Passion less powerful to persuade than Reason.

*1 Rhet.
c. 2.*

This Tempestuous sort of Eloquence, which, *Aristotle* says, causes Trouble and Confusion in our Minds, by subverting our Opinions, and subduing our Reason, never begins its Marches but with Noise and Tumult, its Stroaks dazzle and surprize like Lightning, and smite like Thunder; it is like those Whirlwinds which overturn the tallest Trees with as great ease as the low and humble Reed. Such was *Demosthenes* his Eloquence, who had the Art of making himself Master of the Minds and Affections of the most fierce, inconstant and untractable People, that ever was in the World. This mutinous Populacy, jealous of the Merits of any one that distinguish'd himself in their Commonwealth, did submit their Reason to that of *Demosthenes*, who forc'd them to bend under the Weight and Pressure of so great and irresistible Power and Authority. The Truth is, the Eloquence of *Cicero* charms the Mind, but the Oratory of *Demosthenes* astonishes it, the one commands our Love and Admiration, the other our Fear and Obedience. After all, 'tis

very

very hard to determine which is of the greatest Advantage to an Orator. Were I to speak to Persons of a superior Order to my self, I should chuse to please like *Cicero*; if to People of an inferiour Rank, I shou'd fright them like *Demosthenes*. However, since this Distinction which I have made between these two Orators, will not decide the Controversy, nor give either of them the Preference; I shall leave the Debate to the Management of those who have so good an Opinion of themselves, as to think themselves able to engage in it; and only add a Word or two out of *Sidonius*, which does more particularly, and more exactly, point out the real Difference there is betwixt them. They are in an Epistle to a Friend of his call'd *Claudian*, who was Brother to *Mamercus* Bishop of *Vienna*, where he says, speaking of Eloquence, *That he is violent and passionate like Demosthenes, and persuades like Cicero.* *Irascitur ut Demosthenes, persuadit ut Tullius.*

l. 3. c. 4.

Before I conclude this Comparison, I cannot omit the Opinion of *Monsieur De Vair*, Keeper of the Seal; who having translated into our Language the Oration of *Demosthenes* for *Ctesiphon*, and that of *Cicero* for *Milo*; which he look'd upon as the Master-pieces of those two Orators, without entring into the Dispute about Preference, in which he desir'd to be excus'd, ventures however to say, in his Discourse upon Eloquence, that *Cicero's* is better proportion'd, and more suitable and agreeable to our Humours and Tempers, than that of *Demosthenes*. I cannot think this Critick to have been in the right in this Matter. For besides that those bitter and cruel Invectives, with which the *Greeks* were us'd to treat one another in their Accusations, extremely wound the Sweetness and Civility that is natural to our Nation; we have Hearts

too tender, and too quick a Sense of things, than not to be affected with the moving Eloquence of *Cicero*, rather than the hard and dry Oratory of *Demosthenes*, which has nothing of Passion in it, nothing that is soft and tender; not to mention an infinite Number of other Disproportions, as the violent Pronunciation of *Demosthenes*, and his excessive Transports, his bold Figures, and those passionate and animated Apostrophes, and frequent Invocations of the Sun, Stars, Rivers and Fountains, together with his Swearing by inanimate things, as also those dry and barren Reasonings devoid of all the Graces and Ornaments of Art; and in short, his whole manner of Writing, which is very irreconcilable with the Taste and Relish we have of things of this Nature; *Cicero*, being more according to our Palates, and more agreeable with our Genius.

I have been the longer in displaying the Essential Differences of these two Characters, that I might do it with the greater Exactness. The Comparison of the other Qualities of their Eloquence, as it is more easie to be made, so may it be drawn in a less Compass. There appears in *Demosthenes* his Art, more Care and Pains; but in *Cicero*'s more Agreeableness; he allowing himself a larger Extent in his Amplifications, and a greater Compass in his Orations, as the Grandeur of the Theatre, on which his Eloquence appear'd, which was the Metropolis of the World, did require: Whereas *Demosthenes* seems to have proportion'd himself to the Fortune of the People he spoke to. But both *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, arriv'd to such a Height of Perfection, the one, in his close Concise and Compacted; and the other, in his Extended and Diffus'd Way of Writing; that

Demosthenes and Cicero.

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that *Quintilian* says, *Nothing can be taken from the one, nor added to the other.*

It must be confess'd after all, that *Demosthenes* his Reasonings, are stronger and closer than *Cicero's*; and that, upon the Account of a Great Soul and an Exalted Spirit, he was capable of none but Great and Noble Subjects, such as that of fitting out a Fleet against the King of *Persia*; of reducing the State into Order, and putting it into a Method of deliberating upon Articles of Peace; of the Liberty of the *Rhodians*; of the Supplies that ought to be sent to the neighbouring People against *Philip*; and of all the most important Affairs of *Greece*. So that he could not enter upon any thing of less moment and Concern for the Subject of his Orations, his elevated Soul disdaining to stoop lower; which *Cicero*, out of the Universal Extent of his Abilities, and a boundless Fancy, which he cou'd proportion to things of little Consequence, as well as to those of greater Moment, wou'd not stick at. His Discourse is able to support it self by its own proper Weight in every part; whereas that of *Demosthenes* requir'd sometimes to be made out and maintain'd by his Action, which was the very Life and Soul of it. The *Roman* Orator was timorous when he spake in Publick; the *Grecian*, bold and confident; though he was once out of Countenance in speaking to *Philip*. *Demosthenes* was so positive and affirming, and so full of his Asseverations, that he would be always thought to be in the Right; but *Cicero* was content to make it appear that he was so. *Demosthenes*, was but seldom known to aim at Wit; but it was so natural to *Cicero* to be facetious, that he was pleasant and diverting even in his Misfortunes, only during his Exile, his pleasant Humour

Huic nihil detrabi potest, illi nihil adjici.

l. 10. c. 1.

Quorundam probatio sola in Asseveratione. Quintil. c. 2. l. 4. Instit.

mour was all in Disorder. The *Roman* was of
 a very personable Presence, he had a comely
 Face, and a good clear loud Voice. The *Gre-*
cian was not disagreeable in Person, but the
 Heat and Violence of his Action made up for
 the Want of all other exterior Qualities. The
 Truth is, he spake with more Life and Vigour,
 and *Cicero* with more Sweetness and Grace.
 In fine, though according to the Principles of
 Eloquence, I establish'd before I enter'd upon
 the Distinction of their two Characters; I find,
 that *Demosthenes* his Air in general, is more
 Majestick than that of *Cicero*; and that *Cicero's*
 is more pleasing than that of *Demosthenes*; yet
 if we consider the Circumstances of Time, Per-
 sons and Affairs, we cannot but conclude,
 that both these Orators were most perfectly
 Accomplish'd, each in his kind; and that it
 was utterly impossible they shou'd have been
 such Masters of their Art, but upon the Ac-
 count of the different Ways they took, as most
 suitable with the Temper and Disposition of
 their Auditory. This was their peculiar Excel-
 lency, and the great Advantage of their Elo-
 quence was founded upon a perfect and en-
 tire Knowledge, which they had of the Hu-
 mours of the People with whom they treated,
 and upon the Art they had of accommodating
 themselves to their Genius; so that one wou'd
 imagine that *Rome* and *Cicero*, and that *Athens*
 and *Demosthenes*, were made for one another;
 and that never any third Person arriv'd to that
 Sovereign Degree of Perfection, to which
 these two great Men were advanc'd. But see-
 ing the two different ways they took, do con-
 stitute two different kinds of Eloquence, I
 shall leave it to those that better understand
 these things, to decide which of the two is the
 most

Orationis
differenti-
am fecisse,
& dicenti-
um & au-
dientium
natura vi-
dentur.
Quintil.
l. 12. c. 9.

most Preferable. Yet to make a fuller Ecclaircissement of this Matter, I shall proceed to explain the remaining Difficulties upon this Subject.

C H A P. XX.

A Resolution of some remaining Difficulties, by way of Conclusion to this Discourse.

THE first Difficulty that presents it self in this Comparison, is a certain Passage in *Quintilian*, whose Suffrage is very considerable in this Case, which he had so diligently examin'd into. For seeing, he pretends that *Demosthenes* was the Model, by which *Cicero* was Form'd; he seems to give the former, a great Advantage over the latter. These are his express Words: *Cicero must yield to Demosthenes, who was the Original, from whence was copied this most perfect and accomplish'd Piece.* The Truth is, this Commendation of *Demosthenes* is so glorious, that I do not know, but that *Quintilian* has said more than he thought. For this Critick, after having exalted *Cicero* above all Orators, seems by this Criticism very much to debase him, and place him in a Rank below *Demosthenes*. I can scarce be persuaded, that after the Observations we have made, all People will agree in his Opinion; I say, I can scarce believe, that this Orator, who was the Oracle of *Rome*, the Mistress of the World, and who never open'd his Mouth, but to sur-
prize

*Cedendum
verò in hoc
quod ille &
prior fuit,
& Cicero-
nem, quan-
tus est, mag-
nà ex parte
fecit. Inst.
l. 10. c. 1.*

prize with all his Charms, and to enslave the most free People that ever was; that this wonderful Genius of his Age, this Prodigy of his time, for the Extent and Universality of his Abilities, and for the Penetration of his Discerning Faculties, ought in the least to yield to *Demosthenes*, upon the Account that he was his Model.

For if *Demosthenes* himself, has out-done *Pericles*, in *Lucian's* Opinion, though he took him for his Pattern; if he has effac'd the Glory of *Thucydides*, of whom he was so exact an Imitator, as the Orator *Ulpian* his most faithful Interpreter relates; what should hinder us from believing, but that *Cicero* has at least equall'd *Demosthenes*? Hath not *Aristotle* surpass'd *Plato*, though *Plato* was the Model of *Aristotle*? Did not that great Artist in Painting, *Raphael Santi* quite obscure the Reputation of *P. Perusinus*, who was his Master? And do we not find by daily Observation, that Persons of extraordinary Parts, do in all Arts and Sciences, far exceed those from whom they receiv'd their first Instructions.

*Imitemur
Demosthe-
nem.*

But *Cicero* does not disown, but that he propos'd to himself *Demosthenes* for his Pattern, but could never arrive to that Perfection he strove to imitate in him. This is what I do not deny; for this great Man, as he was something Vain, so he had sometimes some Fits of Modesty, but they lasted not long, as appears on this Occasion. For in another place, he expresses his Disgust, as much against *Demosthenes*; when he declares, that he is not satisfied with him. And besides, he propos'd *Demosthenes* for his Imitation, only upon the Account of that Force and Vehemence, which he so admires in this great Man; and which, the

*Usque eo
morosi su-
mus, ut non
satisfaciat
ipse Demo-
sthenes.*

Truth

Truth is, he did hardly ever arrive to. Neither do I know, whether he ever desir'd it or no; for those that can Charm, and be Agreeable when they please, are not so much inclin'd to be Terrible and violent as often as they can. But *Quintilian* decides this Matter, in saying, that *Cicero was powerful like Demosthenes, Copious like Plato, and pleasing like Isocrates.*

Videtur Cicero vim effuisse Demosthenis, Copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Isocratis.
l. 10. c. 1.

The second Difficulty we meet with, is an Expression in *Longinus*, concerning *Demosthenes*; which perhaps, the Abettors of this great Man will not so well approve of; *Longinus*, in the Comparison he makes between *Hyperides* and *Demosthenes*, says, That *Demosthenes* understood not the Tempers of Men so well, as to be Master of the Art of moving the Passions, in which Eloquence makes the greatest Figure, and displays itself in its full Power. The Truth is, we cannot but agree with him in this, that he was not very well acquainted with the different Motions of the Soul, nor with that Morality of the Heart, which *Aristotle* explains in his Rhetorick, a Book *Demosthenes* never saw; whatever *Lucian*, as exact as he pretends to be, and *Aulus Gellius*, who is no inconsiderable Author, may urge to the contrary. For it is evident, that *Aristotle* wrote not that Book, till he was pretty well advanc'd in Years; and after having Studied under *Plato* above twenty Years, without declaring himself on the side of any of those Sects of Philosophers, which were then in vogue at *Athens*, and without ever so much as Teaching.

It is likewise no less evident, that *Demosthenes* spoke all his most considerable Orations before *Lyfimachides* was Pretor, and that *Aristotle* wrote his Books of Rhetorick some time after. Nay, he does there make some kind of indi-

rect

Ἡ δὲ
Δημοσθένε-
ως δίκη:

rect mention of the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, in these Words, *as to the Matter of Demosthenes*, which the Orator spoke Nine Years after the *Chersonesian War*, Eight after the Death of *Philip*, and about the Time of the Victory which *Alexander* won at *Arbela*. This is the Opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, in his Epistle to *Ammeus*; and the Reputation this Author hath of being a very exact and careful Chronologer, does render his Suffrage much more considerable. And *Diogenes Laertius* observes, that *Alexander* commanded *Aristotle*, to let no one see his Books of Rhetorick, besides himself, that he might reserve entirely to himself alone, the Enjoyment of so great a Treasure; *Plutarch* relates the very same thing.

So then, we have no great Reason to wonder, that *Demosthenes*, in the Opinion of *Longinus*, was no better vers'd in the Knowledge of the Manners and Tempers of Men, seeing he could not come to the Sight of that Treatise *Aristotle* has made of them in his Rhetorick, in which he has very exactly explain'd the whole Myſtery. And in this *Cicero* had a very great Advantage over *Demosthenes*, for he drew all that perfect Knowledge he had in things of this Nature, from this great Source and Original. I shall not stay to Examine the Reasons, why some pretend, that *Aristotle* deriv'd the Precepts of his Rhetorick from the Practice of *Demosthenes*, because they have no Foundation. There would have been some Pretence for this Conjecture, had *Demosthenes* been the only Orator *Aristotle* had heard, but he was an Auditor of *Hypersdes*, *Demades*, *Lycias*, *Phocion*, *Eschines*, *Pytho*, and several others. He had likewise some Acquaintance with *Isæus* and *Isocrates*, not to mention *Plato*, whom he had thoroughly searched

searched into. From all these great Models, and from the Reflections he had made on them himself, he drew that admirable Plan of Rhetorick, which he has left us, and which ought rather to be Meditated upon, than read like his other Works. For it is an invaluable Treasure, which to search deep into, will be found to be the best Advice upon all Accounts, for those that are to speak in Publick. But as it is very probable, that *Cicero* understood the Hearts of Men better than *Demosthenes*, having learnt that Art so well from *Aristotle*; so in Compensation for that Disadvantage, *Demosthenes* understood better the Interest of his own, and the neighbouring Nations, than *Cicero* did that of all the Allies of the Empire. The Ambition of *Philip*, which divided all *Greece*, by many dark Designs, and secret Practices, had taken up for a long time, the whole Thoughts of *Demosthenes*, for this he made his particular Study, and his only Employment; this he resolutely set himself upon, and the perfect Knowledge he had of the violent Proceedings of that Prince, gave him an Opportunity of showing to the best Advantage, how every Nation had a particular Interest in Opposing Unanimously, the growing Greatness of the Haughty *Macedonian*. And this did exceedingly recommend his Eloquence, and that upon the Account of those Great and Noble Representations he made of the Publick Good, and of those frequent Reasonings drawn from Politicks, with which most of his Discourses abound, and which are so effectual in his Oration, the Subjects of which, are always either great in themselves, or made so by a peculiar Art he had, of bringing into his Harangues Affairs of the greatest Importance. So that

that

Non possu-
mus esse
tam graci-
les, sumus
fortiores :
subtilitate
vincimur,
valemus
pondere.

l. 12. c. 20.

that Power and Weight, that Force and Energy, which *Quintilian* seems to ascribe to the *Romans* above the *Greeks*, to whom he yields the Preference, as to the Graces and Beauties of Writing, is not in my Opinion to be understood of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* in particular, but of the Genius of the People in general, and of the Excellencies of both Languages. For the *Greek* Tongue is more delightful and pleasant, and the *Latine* more grave and serious.

The last Difficulty would be to give satisfaction to the Criticks, by drawing a Parallel between the best Passages in *Demosthenes* his Orations, and those in *Cicero's*, which would indeed be a going to the Bottom of the Matter in Dispute, and pursuing the Comparison as far as it will go ; but to this there are three Objections. First, That there is nothing more difficult, than to agree upon which are the best Passages in these two Orators ; the Palates of the Men of Judgment, being so vastly different in things of this Nature. Secondly, That were we agreed upon these Places, yet they must either be Translated into our Language, that the Comparison may be just, or else remain in their own from both which many Inconveniences would arise.

For as every Language hath a particular Character, and certain Beauties peculiar to it self which cannot possibly be express'd in any other it would be an Undertaking of no small Difficulty to do Justice to both Languages by a particular Translation ; and it would be no less than a Degradation to the Grandeur of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, to Translate them into any Modern Language.

Lastly, It may be replied, that *Lipsius*, in several places of his Works, hath already made

a Comparison of the most admir'd Passages in these two Authors, and that Father *Cassius* has likewise done the same in his Parallel of Eloquence, but neither of them with any success, for the Reasons above-mention'd.

So that it would not only be an Argument of great Imprudence and Indiscretion, but also a thing of no Use or Advantage, to venture upon the like Attempt, after the Miscarriage of two such eminent Men. For those Passages cannot be taken out from the rest of the Discourse, without being spoil'd of their greatest Beauties, which generally consist only in the exact Proportion they bear in the other Parts. It ought to be in a Discourse as in a Pile of Buildings; the Majesty and Grandeur, and Beauty of which, consists in a general Uniformity.

The truth of this will appear from that admirable Passage of *Demosthenes*, in his Oration for *Ctesiphon*, which is so extoll'd by all the great Masters of Eloquence; where he says, *No, it is not so, I swear by the Asbes and Manes of those brave Men, that were kill'd at the Battle of Salamis and of Marathon, &c.* Where the Orator displays all that is Great and Glorious in Eloquence, in its full Lustre, and which indeed is admirable, if it be well consider'd. But it is quite another thing, when taken from its proper place, and view'd without regard to what goes before, for the Beauty of it consists in a dependance upon the other parts, and in a just Proportion to the rest. The same may be said of that Passage in *Cicero*, which *Quintilian* so much commends in the Oration for *Milo*; *Vos Albani Tumuli atque luci, vos inquam imploro, atque obtestor: vosque Albanorum obrutæ, &c.* and the like Judgment may we form

of several other places in this Orator. But those that have the Curiosity to draw the Comparison, may be satisfied in Opposing *Demosthenes* his *Philippicks* to *Cicero's*: for the Subject and the Method, in which they treat of it, are much the same; so that they can in no respect be better compar'd.

And in order to form an exact Judgment between these two Orators, it may be enough to observe the most Essential parts of their Characters, without descending to a long and tedious Re-search, which is altogether Foreign to my Design. For it was not my Purpose to Write for the satisfaction of Pedants and Grammarians, who love to Examine things with a Critical Nicety, and Spin them out to the finest Thread, in which they make themselves ridiculous. And 'tis very probable, they will be the only Persons, that will think this Matter not sufficiently clear'd. But, however I may venture to assure my self, that Men of Learning will be of another Opinion, and judge, that I have said enough to furnish out a Scheme or Model, by which any one may be able to make an Estimate of the rest.

To conclude, as I am far from being so vain, as to Value my self upon the Reflections I have made upon these two Orators, so I would by no means conceal the Authors from whence I gather'd them, because it may stamp some Authority upon them. I acknowledge therefore, that I have advanc'd nothing in relation to *Demosthenes*, but what I receiv'd from the most Learned Writers of Antiquity, who knew him best, such as were, amongst many others, *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, *Hermogenes*, *Plutarch*, *Longinus*, *Lucian*, *Cicero*, *Quintilian*, and *Photius*. As for *Cicero*, tho' I may pretend to

a particular Acquaintance with him my self, yet I chose rather to rely on the Judgments of *Seneca, Plutarch, Quintilian, Longinus*, and the Historians of his own Time, than to my own Sentiments of the Matter. As what I have said of these great Men, is not without some Foundation, so I am willing to persuade my self, that by these Observations, I may possibly have contributed to their being known after another manner, than they usually are. And it may be, this Discourse will not be unserviceable to those that have a Love and Affection for Eloquence, in order to re-imprint upon their Minds, the Idea of this Noble Art, from the Impressions that may be taken from the greatest Characters of it that ever were; and it may be of signal Use and Advantage to be now and then thus reminded, that we may frame our selves after such Great and Noble Patterns. Some may also discover perhaps, from this Discourse, the direct Paths that lead to the Attainment of Eloquence, by treading in these, those great Men have already gone in; and the Portraitsures I have given of them, may prove the Criteria, by which we may know, who are the *Demosthenes's* and the *Cicero's* of our Age, if there be any.

COMPARISON

OF
Homer and Virgil.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Value of the two Poems of
Homer and Virgil.*

OF all the Performances Man is capable of, an *Epick Poem* is, beyond dispute, the most Perfect and Accomplish'd; in regard, that it involves all the Excellencies of all others. This is the general Opinion, of all the Men of Learning; though *Aristotle*, gives the Preference to Tragedy; because, the Parts of it are of a less Extent, and bearing a more just and limited Proportion, it excites a less languishing Pleasure. However, notwithstanding this, it may be affirm'd, that those other Advantages, in which an *Heroick Poem* exceeds a *Dramatick*, are so considerable, and so universally acknowledged to be such, that there is no Person but what

Arist. Po-
et. C. 26.

what is convinc'd, that it is the most excellent and most transcendent Piece of all Human Productions. So that the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, being, by the Consent of all Ages, the most Perfect that ever appear'd in that kind of Writing; to judge which ought to have the Preference of the two, is, in my Opinion, to decide the most important Question that can be advanc'd in Matters of Learning, and peremptorily to determine, which is the most Sublime and most Perfect. For none yet ever equall'd the sublime and lofty Genius of these two great Men. And, if we may rely upon the Opinion of *Quintilian*, the most Judicious of all the Criticks, there is nothing comparable to *Homer* and *Virgil*. Having given a Character of *Homer*, after the most exact Manner; he concludes, that none but one of the most enlarg'd Faculties and sublime Parts, one of the most exalted Soul, can comprehend his Merit. He says still more than all this, in Praise of *Virgil*.

*Ut magni
sit viri,
virtutes
ejus non
emulatio-
ne, quod
fieri non
potest sed
intellectu
sequi.
L. 10. c. 1.
Instit.*

This is likewise the Judgment of one of the most Learned Criticks of these later Ages, who styles these two Authors, the two Generals and Sovereigns of all the Sciences: Not to mention the great Approbation, they have met with from two of the most Learned and most Judicious Princes that ever were. For *Alexander*, to do just Honours to *Homer's Iliad*, plac'd it amongst his Jewels, in that rich and admirable Cabinet of *Darius's*, which he found amongst the Spoils after the Defeat, saying, that he cou'd not think of a more proper Repository for a work so Valuable, for a Piece the most Exquisite that ever the Wit of Man cou'd contrive. And *Augustus* gave a remarkable Instance of the great Value and Esteem he had

*Duo illi
omnis Do-
ctrina api-
ces, Home-
rus & Vir-
gilius.
Casaub.
præf. in
Perf.*

*Ut pretio-
sissimum
animi hu-
mani opus,
quam max-
imè diviti-
um opere ser-
varetur.
Plin. c. 29.*

A Comparison of

for the *Aeneid* above all other things, by the Impatience he shew'd, and the Uneasiness he was under of seeing it while *Virgil* was alive, and by the Care he took of it after his Death. But not to insist, I say, upon the Authority of these two Great and Learned Princes, it may be affirm'd, that there were never any two Persons of equal Merit celebrated with more general Applause, than these two great Genii have ever been; and there has not been known, ever since their first Appearance in the World, throughout that whole Tract of time, any one Person that has dar'd Dispute their Merit, without doing great dishonour to himself, and by so irrational a Presumption, betraying his own Weakness and Ignorance.

Qui Ho-
merum con-
temnunt,
vix illis
optari
quidquam
pejus potest,
quam ut
fatuitate
sua fruan-
tur.
Cassaub.
dissert. de
Homero.

C H A P. II.

After what manner we ought to consider these two Poems, in order to make a right Judgment of them.

I N examining the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, I shall not spend any time in speaking of their Persons, and the Circumstances of their Lives, because we know little or nothing of the Person of *Homer*; only, that he undertook a Voyage into *Aegypt*, to study the Sciences under that People, who were the first Masters of Learning in the World, as *Diodorus Siculus* assures us, in the first Book of his History. *Appion* brags in *Pliny*, that he had, by Enchantments, call'd up the Ghost of *Homer*, to be

Appion pro-
didit se
evocasse
umbras
ad person-
tandum
Homerum,
qua patria
esset, &c.
Plin. l. 30.
c. 2.

be inform'd, what Country he was of. But in vain, for we are still in doubt as to that point. However, I may venture to say, that of all the Wise and Learned Men of Antiquity, *Homer* alone, seems to me the most Admirable, and the most Incomprehensible. He was the first Master, and the first Model of Learned Men. He was both a Philosopher and an Orator, giving us both the Precepts of Philosophy and Eloquence. We cannot learn who were his Parents, what his Country, where he Studied, or where he liv'd : There is nothing in all respects so great a Mystery, as this great Man. The Philosophy which *Plato* has given us, in his Treatise upon the Soul, which is his best Piece, was not so much taken from the *Ægyptians*, as *Jamblicus* and *Porphyry* pretend, as from *Homer* ; we have no Author so Ancient as this Poet, except only *Moses*. He has been so Modest, as to say nothing of himself, of his Country, or the Times he liv'd in ; a piece of Justice so due to ones self, that no one else ever omitted it. As for *Virgil*, we have learnt somewhat more of him ; we know that being a Person of mean Birth, he wrought himself into Favour with *Augustus*, to whom he made his Court. We cannot but read his Life in *Servius*, and his other Commentators ; so, that I shall now confine my self to the Poems of these two great Authors, for 'tis from their Works, that the Comparison is to be made.

Amongst the Learned of these later Ages, that have pretended to give their Opinion upon the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, and to draw the Parallel between them ; the most considerable are, *Macrobius*, *Julius Scaliger*, and *Fulvius Ursinus*. But as they have examin'd those Pieces meerly as *Grammarians*, so they have

A Comparison of

fail'd in a right Judgment of them, by making their Reflections upon the exterior and superficial Parts only, without giving themselves the trouble of searching to the bottom. This Default, hath, in a great measure, hindred the Learned from passing a right Judgment upon them; and the Prejudice they conceiv'd and cherish'd in Favour of *Homer*, hath perfectly surpriz'd and confounded all those that made pretensions to a Share in the Glory of being thought Learned. For it is very well known, that those that affect the Reputation of Men of Learning, look upon the declaring their Opinion in Favour of *Homer*, and giving him the Preference to *Virgil*, as a great piece of Honour done to themselves, and what is enough to make them considerable in the World; because a Judgment like this, argues them to be Men of Sense. And as there is indeed requir'd a more profound Knowledge of things, a greater share of Learning, in order to Form a Judgment of *Homer*, than of *Virgil*; so Men think themselves more distinguish'd from the common Sort, and that they have given the World a true Taste of their Parts and Abilities, by giving the Preference to the one before the other.

This is a Prejudice a Man ought to take great care to rid himself well of, let his Parts be what they will; because, sometimes People are better able to Judge of things, when they themselves think they are not, which is assuming to themselves an Authority they have no Title to. For Presumption commonly deprives the Mind of the Liberty of Judging impartially, and with that Indifference, that is requisite in order to make a true Judgment. This is the Course I design to take, to prevent all Prejudice

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dice in the Liberty I shall use of Judging upon an Examination, of what will occur on this Subject. And here I declare, that I pretend to no more than barely to give you my Observations and Remarks upon the Poems of these two Authors, and so leave them to those that are better skill'd in this sort of Learning, to make what Decision they please upon them.

But to enter upon the Question, and discuss it thoroughly, I shall not in the least stick to own, as previous to what will be hereafter said, That *Homer*, has a larger and more noble Foundation to build upon than *Virgil*; that his Characters are more extended; that he has more Grandeur, and more of the Sublime; that he Paints things better; that his Images are more finish'd and perfect Pieces; that his Reflections have more Morality in them, and are more Sententious; that his Fancy is richer and more pregnant, his Wit more universal; that he is a Master in all Professions, Poet, Orator, Mathematician, Philosopher, Astronomer, Geographer, Artizan, as he pleases; that he entertains us with more Variety in the Management of his Fable; that he has more of that Impetuosity, that raises and elevates the Fancy; that his Expressions have more Life, more Strength, and Energy in them; that he is of a more happy Genius; and has more the Temper and Complexion of a Poet; that his Verses are more pompous and stately; that they more delight the Ear of those that understand the Beauty of Poetry, with their Numbers and Cadence; that he is more Natural, his greatest Art being to seem to be without Art, Painting every thing after Nature. But after all, to Form a judgment on these Considerations, when there are other things
more

A Comparison of

more Essential that deserve our Examination; is to Judge of *Homer* and *Virgil*, only from what is most superficial in their Works, as the *Grammarians* have done.

To Form then a regular Judgment in this Case, and nicely to State the Question, we must begin with an Enquiry concerning an *Epick* Poem, what it is, what is its Matter, its

Poet. c. 5. Form, its End, and its other Parts?

The *Epopæa*, says *Aristotle*, Is an Imitation, or a Draught, or Portraicture of an Illustrious Action. This is common with *Tragedy*, but with this difference, that the one imitates by Representation, the other by Narration. So that its Matter is *Heroick Action*, its Form Fable, its End the Instructions of Princes and Grantees.

Let us now examine the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, according to these Rules, and upon these Principles, and that we may not be mistaken and err, let us not consider these great Works by Pieces and Fragments; let us not examine these two Authors by their Descriptions, their Similitudes, and their Epithets, for these are only the Superficial Parts of them; but let us search into what is most Essential in them, as to the Design and Execution. And to do this methodically, let us keep to the Order of the Parts of an *Epick* Poem, which, as *Aristotle* ranges them, are *Fables*, *Morality*, *Thoughts*, and *Words*. Let us now then draw our Comparison between *Homer* and *Virgil*, from these Rules, and according to this Order.

C H A P. III.

A Comparison between the two Fables of the Iliad, and the Æneid,

LET us begin with *Fable*, which is the first of the Parts of an *Epick Poem*; and consider that of the *Iliad*, and that of the *Æneid*, as they both lie Naked and Unveil'd, Pure and Simple, without their *Episodes*.

The *Fable* of the *Iliad* is, that one of the Chiefs of the *Grecian Army*, being dissatisfied with the General, retires from the Camp, without considering his Duty, or hearkning to Reason, or the Advice of his Friends; and deserts the Publick Interest and that of the State, to indulge a Surly Morose Humour, and yield himself up to the Violence of his Resentments: His Enemies take the Advantage of this his Absence, and grow too powerful for his Party, and come off Victorious in several Skirmishes with them, killing at last his best Friend. Upon this he takes up Arms again, in order to revenge his Death, and Passion hurries him on to what Reason cou'd never prevail upon him to do. In the End, he kills the Captain of his Enemies. This is the *Fable* of the *Iliad*, abstracted from the *Episodes*, and dispoil'd of all its Ornaments.

The *Fable* of the *Æneid*, is this. A Prince forc'd to fly upon the Desolation of his Country, wanders up and down the World, in order to make a new Establishment. He makes his Gods his Father, the Companions of his Flight. The Gods mov'd with the Royal Suffer-

A Comparison of

Sufferer's Piety, interest themselves in the Seating him in the Noblest and most Beautiful part of the World; and thus he becomes the Founder of the most flourishing Empire that ever was.

Let us now make a Comparison between these two Fables, and measure the Grandeur of the two Heroes, by that of their Actions. The Action of *Achilles*, is destructive of his Country, and of his own Party, as *Homer* himself acknowledges: That of *Aeneas*, is of signal Advantage and Glory to his Country; the Motive of the former, is Passion; of the latter, Vertue. The Action of *Achilles*, is occasion'd by the Death of *Patroclus*, his best Friend: The Action of *Aeneas*, by the Liberty he endeavour'd to obtain for his Gods and his Father, and upon the Safety he labour'd to procure to those that were the Companions of his Misfortunes. The one is Heroick, that is, above the ordinary Vertue of Man, for so *Aristotle* defines Heroick Vertue in his *Ethicks*: The other, is not so much as Rational, but implies a Character of Brutality, which, according to the same *Aristotle*, is a Vice directly opposite to Heroick Vertue; for as the one is above the Man, so the other is far below him.

The Action of *Aeneas*, is more perfect than that of *Achilles*; it puts a Period to Affairs, by the Death of *Turnus*; whilst that of *Achilles* terminates no where; the Siege of *Troy* lasts a full Year after *Hector's* Death. Which gave occasion to *Quintus Calaber*, and *Tryphiodorus* an *Egyptian*, who writ upon *Homer*, to observe that the *Iliad* was imperfect, because it terminated not in *Hector's* Death, which ought to have been the Grand Period. And thus, from

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what part soever you take your View of the *Aeneid*, you'll find that it concludes more happily, and that its great Period, which is, as it were, the Consummation of all, is more full and compleat than that of the *Iliad*.

But if we will give our selves the trouble to consider, how much Conduct, Invention, Perspicacity and Wit, must conspire together in the Choice of a Subject, that makes the *Romans* to descend from the Blood of the Gods, and particularly *Augustus*, under whose Reign the Poet writ, and whom he so agreeably Flatters with this Promise of an Empire, that was to be Eternal, what Beauty, what Grandeur, and what Excellency shall we meet with in that admirable Choice, which *Virgil* has made? Πολλὰς
And what is there to be found comparable to δ' ἰσθίμους
it, in that of *Homer*? For as there was never ψυχὰς αἰδῶ
any Author that has done more Honour to his πατρίαν
Country by his Works, than *Virgil*, in attributing to the *Romans* a Divine Extraction; and an Eternal Posterity, according to the Decrees of Fate; so it may be said of *Homer*, that he has disgrac'd his Country, by choosing for his Heroe, a Person that was the Destruction of so many brave Men, whom he sacrific'd to his Grief and Discontent. This gave *Plato* an occasion of finding so much fault with that Anger of *Achilles*, the consequence whereof, prov'd so prejudicial to the *Greeks*, as *Tasso* has since observ'd after him in his *Opuscula*. L' ira di
Achille fu
con amari-
tudine ri-
pressa da
Platone.

Yet it may be said in *Homer's* excuse, for his having made that Passion the Subject of his Poem, that the Anger and Fury of the Ancient Heroes, before the Meekness and Affability, which Christianity teaches, appear'd in the World, was neither a Weakness nor a Defect, as *Tasso* seems to insinuate in his Dialogue
of

A Comparison of

of Virtue. Il soverchio dell' ira fu' attributo ad Hercole, Achille, Ajace à altri Heroi. Et Alessandro per ammaestramento filosofico, non potè tenerlo à ferno, quantunque alcuna volta vincessse il piacere, come dimostrò doppo la morte di Dario, nel rispetto portato alla moglie, e allo madre. A certain Transcendency of Anger was attributed to Hercules, Achilles, Ajax, and other Heroes. And Alexander himself, notwithstanding all his Precepts of Philosophy, could not bridle that Passion, tho' sometimes he Conquer'd and Subdu'd his Lust, as upon the Death of Darius, when he shew'd so much Respect to his Wife and Mother. But as the same Plato observes; Anger is not a Virtue, but when it takes up Arms in the Defence of Reason, from whence it may be infer'd, that that of Achilles, was not upon any account Virtuous, since it was far from being Rational, as Tasso assures us, in the second Book of his Opuscula. Pare che Homero con la Persona di Agamemnon non ci metta inanzi à gli occhi una figura della ragione depravata: E con quella d' Achille l' imagine dell' ira smoderata, & trapassante i termini prescritti dalla regione. It appears that Homer, in the Person of Agamemnon, sets before our Eyes an Image of deprav'd Reason; and, in that of Achilles, the Picture of Excessive Anger, and such as transcend the prescrib'd Boundaries of Reason. Thus is Virgil more Happy in, and seems to have gain'd more Glory, both to himself and his Country by the subject Matter of his Poem, and consequently his Choice is more Prudent and Judicious, than that of Homer. And as to that Title of Inexorable, which Horace has given Achilles, 'tis not so Virtuous as our Language makes it. Inexorabilis in Latine, does not signify so much a Man that is untractable, as one that knows how to Defend and Support the Pa-

ty He's engag'd in And this is the Grand Character of *Homer's* Heroe, that he is independent.

C H A P. IV.

A Comparison between the two Heroes.

THE Action of *Achilles*, being somewhat more wonderful and surprizing, than that of *Aeneas*, in regard, that it is wholly manag'd by him himself, without any Assistance or Company, and that his Presence in, or Absence from the Army, occasions all the Advantages and Disadvantages to his Party; every one will be inclin'd at first, to allow the Preference. But upon a Nicer View, it will not be so; and when we have given our selves the Leisure to look more narrowly into things, and shall have strictly examin'd these two Heroes, we shall form a quite different Judgment. The first Observation to be made, in order to the clearing up of this Point, is, that in all probability, it was not the Design and Intent of *Homer*, to give us in his Hero, the Idea of a great Commander, or of an accomplish'd Prince; but to shew us how prejudicial Disorder is to any Party, and so to make a Draught of an Action at the same time terrible and wonderful. This is the Opinion of *Tasso*, in his *Opuscula*.

*Per ciò fare
l'idea di
una terri-
bile, ema-
ravigliosa
azione.*

*Tass.
Opusc.*

In which he has not imitated *Xenophon*, who in the Description he gives us of his Prince, the great *Cyrus*, to make an absolutely accomplish'd Person of him, confines himself not to truth of things, but to the Idea in general of a com-

A Comparison of

compleat Prince, according to the Rules of *Aristotle* in his Poetry, who would have the Poet, in the Representations and Descriptions he makes, draw Persons, not as they actually are, but as they really ought to be. And *Plato*, in the fifth Book of his Laws, tells us, that Imitation is not to be made, but from things in themselves most accomplish'd. Besides, as a Picture in a just and regular Imitation, ought to be like its Original; so ought not this Original to be any one Man or Prince in particular; but the Idea of a Prince, or accomplish'd Person in general. According to this Model, hath *Plato* drawn from the perfect Idea of a just Man, *Xenophon* of a Prince, and *Cicero* of an Orator, by attributing to each of these what was most transcendent in the Idea they form'd to themselves of each of them.

And hence it appears, that not only *Homer* alone, has not follow'd this Maxim, in the framing of his Heroe, by making him subject to great Weaknesses, and notorious Imperfections, instead of inserting into the Idea, he pretends to give of him, the Consummation of all Virtues, according to the Precept of *Paul Beni*, in his Academical Discourses: *Nel Poëma Heroico, conviene esprimer l' idea di perfettissimo Capitano: ò vero formar Heroe, in cui sia il colmo di tutte le virtù militari e civili.* In an Heroick Poem, 'tis requisite you should express the Idea of a most perfect Commander, or form such an Heroe, in whom should be the height of all Virtues, Military and Civil.

And this is a very considerable Advantage, that *Virgil* had over *Homer*. For whereas the latter had not, for the forming of his Heroe any other Idea, than that of the Virtue of *Hercules*, or *Theseus*, or of some other Person of those early times, who were Renown'd in the World, only

for their bodily Strength and Vigour ; it is no wonder if there be such a Defect, as to Morals, in the Heroe he hath given us, in reference to which he form'd him ; there being not to be met with in those Days, either in the Records of History, or in Books, any Idea of Moral Virtue. And as Mankind knew of no greater Enemies to oppose, than Monsters and Wild Beasts, so there needed only good robust Bodies, and good Armour, to give a Man a just pretence to the Title of a Heroe. They were ignorant of, and unacquainted with, in that Age of the World, those more terrible and dangerous Enemies, their own Passions, and their own Desires ; and Moderation and Justice were Virtues not known in those dark times in which *Homer* writ.

Virgil, besides the Advantage he had of forming his Hero, from the two Heroes of *Homer*, that is, from the Valour of *Achilles*, and the Prudence of *Ulysses*, had also the Advantage of intermixing the Gallantry of *Ajax*, the Wisdom of *Nestor*, the Indefatigable Patience of *Diomedes*, and all those other Virtues, of which *Homer* has drawn the Characters in his two Poems : and of Re-uniting to all these, yet farther, those several Virtues which he had observ'd in all other Illustrious Men, as in *Themistocles*, *Epaminondas*, *Alexander*, *Hannibal*, *Jugurtha*, and in Number of others of Foreign Nations, as also what he had found most remarkable in the Characters of *Horatius*, *Camillus*, *Scipio*, *Sertorius*, *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and of all the Heroes of his own Country. Had not then *Virgil* an infinitely more noble Ground-work to raise an accomplish'd Heroe upon, than *Homer* ? Thus the Painter *Zeuxis*, finish'd that Famous Picture of *Helena*, which he

had undertaken, and which was indeed, the most admir'd Piece of that Age, with greater Success, and after a more compleat and exact Manner, than did *Apelles* that of *Venus*; because *Zeuxis* form'd his Idea from all the Perfections he had found in the most celebrated Beauties of his Time, whereas *Apelles* form'd his Idea only from his own pure Imagination; which he found to fail in his Design, for he was forc'd to leave his Piece imperfect, being convinc'd, that he was not able to give a finishing Stroke, equal to those Nice Touches of his Hand he had show'd in the beginning.

This Inequality in the Subject I am now treating of, will still appear much more evident, if we will but give our selves the trouble of comparing the Character, which *Horace* has left us of *Achilles*, with that which *Virgil* has given us of *Aeneas*. *Achilles* is brave, but withal, Hasty, Impetuous, Furious, Passionate, Violent, Unjust, Inexorable, a Contemner of all Laws, and one that places his Reason in the Sword he wears by his side.

*Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Fura negat sibi nota, nihil non arrogat armis.*

Hor. Ar. Poet.

*Impatient, Rash, Inexorable, Proud,
Scorning all Judges, and all Laws but Arms.*

E. of Roscommon.

Besides all these excellent Qualities, which certainly are no very great Arguments of a Heroe, he shows a great deal of Cruelty and Barbarity, in Relation to the Body of *Hector*, even to such a degree, as to make it his Diversion, to Exercise his Vengeance upon it; and
out

out of an unparallel'd piece of Covetousness, he Sells, to the Afflicted and Disconsolate Father, the Body of his Son. I shall not say any thing of his quitting, with a Lightness not to be Pardon'd, that great and generous Enterprize, undertaken by a general Combination of all Greece, upon the account of a Female Captive, for whom he gives himself up to Tears and sad Complaints, with all the Demonstrations of Weakness and Folly. In short, this Heroe of *Homer*, whose Reputation is so Great, and who has been so highly celebrated throughout all Ages, is the very Epitome of Imperfections and Vices.

But on the contrary, *Virgil* unites and conjoins all the Virtues in the Formation of his Heroe: He gives him Religion towards the Gods, Piety towards his Country, Tenderness and Friendship towards his Relations, and Equity and Justice towards All. He is undaunted in time of Danger, Patient in Labours, Courageous when occasions require, and Prudent in the Management of Affairs. In fine, He is Good, Peaceable, Liberal, Eloquent, Genteel, and Civil: His Air and Mien is all Grandeur and Majesty; and that he may not want any of those Qualifications, which might contribute towards the Accomplishment of a great Person; he is Fortunate. *Ilioneus* gives *Dido* a Character of him in these two Verses, which may be oppos'd to those two of *Horace*, which are the Portraiture of *Achilles*.

*Rex erat Æneas nobis, quo justior alter
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis.*

A Comparison of

*Aeneas was our Prince, a juster Lord,
Or nobler Warriour never drew Sword.*

Mr. Dryden.

*Fingenti
formanti-
que mihi
Principem,
nunquam
voto saltē
concipere
succurrit
similem.
Huic quem
videmus.
Plin. in
Paneg.
Augustum
Cesarem
templorum
omnium
conditorem
aut restau-
ratorem.
Tit. Liv.
Hist. l. 4.*

These are the three Sovereign Qualities, which make up his Essential Character, Religion, Justice, and Valour, and which were eminently conspicuous in *Augustus*, and were the Principal Virtues of that good and great Emperour, whom he has so lively express'd in all the Lineaments and Features of the Heroe, whose Picture he has Drawn and Inscrib'd to him. This is one of the most Refin'd and Ingenious pieces of Flattery that was ever known, in which has happen'd to him, what *Pliny* said some time after, with such a spriteliness of Thought in his *Panegyrick* to the Emperour *Trajan*. For *Ovid* tells us, that Piety was one of the Principal Virtues of *Augustus*, who made it so much his Care to restore the decay'd Honours of the Temples at *Rome*.

*Sub quo Delubris sentitur nulla Senectus,
Nec satis est Homines, obligat Ille Deos.*

Fast. l. 2.

*Under whose Conduct and auspicious Reign,
Each Temple does its Ancient Worth Retain:
Nor is b' alone Propitious to Mankind,
The Gods themselves from him Protection find.*

Thus, from the Virtues of *Augustus*, and a numerous Train of Perfections, distributed and dispers'd amongst divers other Heroes, has *Virgil* drawn the Portraiture of his: True Heroick Virtue, being a Combination and Complication

plication of all Virtues, as *Aristotle* affirms in his *Ethicks*. And certainly, if the *Pythagoreans* would have a Sovereign, not only without the least fault, but also absolutely accomplish'd in, and entirely possess'd of all Virtues in general, that he might deserve to be the Head of the People; with greater Reason should a Heroe, who is the Model by which Kings ought to form themselves, be a Person of the most transcendent and consummate Virtue.

In fine, to conclude this Observation, *Homer* himself has said more in Commendation of *Aeneas*, than ever was, or indeed can be said in Praise of any great Man; when in the fifth Book of his *Iliad*, he tells us, that this great Commander had always a Deity attending on him, for his security, and to preserve him from that Variety of Accidents, to which all other Men are liable to, as if Heaven had interest it self in his Preservation.

Τὸ δ' αἰ
παρ' εἰς
καὶ θεῶν ὅς
λοιγὸν αἰμύ-
ναι.

C H A P. V.

*Which of the two Heroes was the most
Eminent for Bravery and Valour.*

WE may, notwithstanding all this, allow of these Observations, without giving the Preference to *Aeneas*. For the Character of Valiant, which *Homer* gives *Achilles*; and which of all Character carries in it most of the Heroick, appears with greater Advantage, and is infinitely more accomplish'd, than that which *Virgil* gives *Aeneas*. And this very Character distinguishes him too, with a great Mark of

A Comparifon of

Pre-eminence from thofe of his own Party, tho' all Valiant. For there is nothing done without him, and he alone is the fole Caufe of all the good and bad Fortune of his Army.

I muft confefs, indeed, that the Valour of *Achilles* fhines with a much greater Luftre, than that of *Aeneas*, in regard it is the only Heroick Quality *Homer* endows him with, and by which he diftinguiſhes him, and fo is the more conspicuous by being alone: Whereas in *Aeneas*, being attended by many others, it is fo much the lefs obfervable, becauſe the Splendor of it is eclipsed by that of his other Qualities. We find in the Heroe of *Homer*, the Portraiture only of *Achilles*; but in the Heroe of *Virgil*, we have all the Linaments and Features of *Menelaus*, *Agamemnon*, *Ulyſſes*, *Ajax*, *Neflor*, *Diomedes*, and even of *Achilles* himſelf. Thus is *Aeneas* his Character made up of all the Qualities of great Men, as we may ſoon obſerve, if we will but follow *Virgil* through that Series of Action, in which he makes his Heroe engag'd in the ſecond Book of the *Aeneid*.

We may be allow'd to ſay, that when we know how to diſtinguiſh exactly between true Valour and Raſhneſs, and ſhall have well obſerv'd the Extent *Ariſtotle* allows to this Virtue of Magnanimity in his *Etbicks*; we ſhall find that *Virgil* carries the Character of Valiant, which he gives *Aeneas*, as far as it ought to go. But we muſt allow our ſelves time for Meditation and Reflection, thoroughly to be acquainted with this Character, as 'tis appropriated to *Aeneas*, and ought not to ſuffer any of thoſe Circumſtances, with which he endeavours to prepoſſeſs our Minds, to eſcape our Obſervation.

In

In the first place then, he brings in *Aeneas* inform'd by *Hector*, who appears to him after his Death, that the *Greeks* had taken *Troy*, by Surprise, that they were Masters of the Town, and that it was its Fate to be destroy'd. This sad News being brought by a deceas'd Person, Religion renders his Testimony sacred; and to take him off from all farther Endeavours to defend it, the gashly Messenger assures him, that he himself had already done the utmost he could by his Courage.

Sat Patrie Priamoque datum est.

*Enough is paid to Priam's Royal Name,
More than enough to Duty and to Fame.*

Mr. Dryden.

He might have desisted from attempting any Relief upon so sacred a Testimony as that, 'twas the Will of the Gods it should be so; but awaken'd with the Noise of the Sacking of the City, and the Flames of the Neighbouring Houses, he goes up to the top of his House to discover the Causes of all this Disorder and Confusion: And his first Resolution is, to take up Arms, and Dye in the Defence of his Country.

Pulchrumque mori, succurrit in Armis.

*Spurr'd by my Courage, by my Country fir'd
With Sense of Honour and Revenge inspir'd*

Mr. Dryden.

The Danger startles him not, tho' he was alone when he went forth Arm'd from his House, without advising with his People. He

A Comparison of

runs to the place where the Tumult was ; the Confusion of a Surpriz'd City, and the most pressing Exigencies hurrying him on.

In flammas & in arma feror :

*And Heaven that well-born Souls inspires,
Prompts me through blisted Swords and rasing Fires
To run, where clashing Arms and Clamour calls,
And rush undaunted to defend the Walls.*

Mr. Dryden.

Meeting in his way with *Chorabus*, *Dymas*, and *Hypanis*, and with some others whom he knew, he leads them on, and animates them by his Example.

Moriamur, & in media arma ruamus.

*Then let us fall, but fall amidst our Foes,
Despair of Life, the Means of Living shows.*

Mr. Dryden.

With his own Hand he kills *Androgeus*, one that had made the farthest Advances of any of the Enemies Commanders ; after this he makes a great Slaughter amongst the *Greeks*, with but a Handful of his own Men ; upon this Advantage, both he and they put on the Armour of the Slain, to disguise themselves, which prov'd so Successful, that he forc'd a good Party of the Enemy out of the City, and pursu'd them quite to their Ships.

*Diffugiunt alii ad Naves, & littora cursu
Fida Petunt.*

Thus

*Thus while their stragling Parties we defeat,
Some to the Shoar and safer Ships retreat.*

Mr. Dryden.

But over-power'd at last by Numbers, *Dymas*, *Hypanis* and his other Friends falling by his side, he runs to the Palace, where was the greatest Danger, and Attacks it with all his Force, in hopes to Rescue the Poor Unhappy King, and all the Royal Family.

Instaurati animi Regis succurrere testis.

*Renew'd in Courage with recover'd Breath
A second time we ran to tempt our Death,
To clear the Palace from the Foe; succeed
The weary Living, and revenge the Dead.*

Mr. Dryden.

But he comes thither too late, the *Greeks* having already put all within it to the Sword. Upon this, being the only Person left of his Party;

Famque adeo super unus eram.

Thus wandring in my way without a guide.

Mr. Dryden.

And finding himself Deserted by all, nothing now remaining in the Palace, that might occasion his stay, after he had seen *Polites* the King's Son, and the King himself Murdered, he retires back to his own House, in order to lay down his own Life in the Defence of his Father's. But his Mother *Venus* stops him in the way, and opens his Eyes, to let him see, that
'tis

'tis against the Will of the Gods he Fights, and
that they are the Destroyers of Troy, as well
as the Greeks.

— *Mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum
Neptunus muros, magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit, totamque à sedibus urbem
Erui. Hic Juno Scæas sævissima portas
Prima tenet, sociumque vocans à navibus agmen
Ferro accincta vocat, &c.*

Where yon disorder'd Heap of Ruine lies,
Stones rent from Stones, where Clouds of dust arise,
Amidst that smother Neptune holds his place,
Below the Walls Foundation drives his Mace,
And heaves the Building from the solid Base.
Look where in arms Imperial Juno stands
Full in the Scæan Gate, with loud commands
Urging on Shore the tardy Græcian Bands.

Mr. Dryden.

Jupiter and Pallas too were of the Party;
so that *Aeneas*, who saw them, might have ac-
quiesc'd in their fatal Decree, without pursuing
things any farther. It had been an instance of
Impiety, and not of Valour, to have stood out
any longer, against so many Gods that had
combin'd together. But notwithstanding all
this, being come to his House, in order to Pro-
tect his Father, tho' at the Expence of his own
Life, and perceiving that he could not survive
the Destruction of his Country, he arms him-
self a second time, in order to fall Honoura-
bly, and Dye a Glorious Death.

Hic ferro accingor rursus.

Arm'd

Homer and Virgil.

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Arm'd once again my glitt'ring Sword I wield.

Mr. Dryden,

And nothing can divert him, but Signs from
Heaven, and Admonitions from the Gods
themselves.

—— *Subitoque fragore*
Intonuit lævum —— &c.

He said, the crackling Flames appear on high
And driving Sparkles dance along the Sky.

Mr. Dryden,

Anchises himself, tells him the Interpretation of
these Prodigies, and *Aeneas* could not submit
to any thing but that.

Cessi, & sublato montem Genitore petivi.

I yeild to Fate, unwillingly retire,
And loaded up the Hill convey my Sire.

Mr. Dryden.

'Tis not to Men, but to the Gods, and to them
alone that he yields. 'Tis a matter of great
doubt, whether true Valour could possibly
have been advanc'd any higher; and yet we
see this is but the beginning, but the first Essay
of *Aeneas* his Gallantry: All the Courageous
Actions he performs in the sequel of the *Æ-*
neid, carry in them the true Marks and Cha-
racters of this Valour, which will appear very
wonderful and astonishing, even in these times
in which this excellent Name and Title is,
without any manner of Distinction, bestow'd
on the rash and imprudent Sallies and Erupti-
ons of Fury and Brutality.

From

From these Observations, it will be no hard matter to judge, which of the two Heroes is the most perfect and accomplish'd, *Achilles* or *Aeneas*. This is what is one of the most Essential Parts of the Poem. I come now to the second, which is the Disposition of the Fable.

C H A P. VI.

The Disposition of the Fable of the two Poems.

Arist. in
Poet.

THE Disposition or Distribution of the Fable consists in three things, viz. The Natural Deduction or Consequence of the Principal Action, and of all the Matters that compose it; a just Temperament, and an exact Intermixture of what is probable, and what miraculous; and the Arrangement and Correspondence of the Episodes or Digressions, with the Principal Action. These three Qualities, which lay the Foundation of the Distribution of the Fable, called by *Aristotle*, the *Constitution of things*, are so Essential to a Poem, that it cannot be absolutely compleat without them.

Morat. ad
Pison.

The first is the Action, which, according to the Rules of *Aristotle*, ought to be entire and perfect, that is, as he himself explains it, such as hath a Beginning, a Middle, and an End. *Horace* would have these parts have a certain proportion and connexion between themselves.

Primo

Primo nè medium, medio ne discrepet inum.
Hor. ad Pison.

*And Truth and Fiction are so aptly mix'd
That all seems uniform, and of a piece.*
E. of Roscommon.

——— *Ut nec pes nec caput uni
Reddatur formæ.* Horat. in Poet. ad Pison.

And these are the Observations which ought to be made upon our Poems, as to this Point. If the Action and Principal Subject of the *Iliad* be the War of *Troy*, according to the Opinion of *Horace*, a great Master in that Art, who calls *Homer*, the Historian of the *Trojan War*, *Trojan belli Scriptorem*, and according to the Opinion of many others, then is that Action defective and imperfect, for that War has not, in the *Iliad*, either Beginning or End; and this would be like a Statue, that has neither Head nor Foot. So that in this Case, that Verse of *Horace* is very applicable.

*Infelix operis summa qui ponere totum
Nesciat,———&c.*

*The meanest Workman in the Æmilian Square
May grave the Nails, or imitate the Hair,
But cannot finish what he hath begun;
What is there more ridiculous than he?
For one or two good Features in a Face
Where all the rest are scandalously ill,
Make it but more remarkably deform'd.*
E. of Roscommon.

But

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But if the Action be the Anger of *Achilles*, as is more probable, and as *Homer* himself acknowledges by his Proposition; that Anger has indeed a Beginning, but it has neither End, nor Middle; for it is effac'd by a new Anger of the same Person against *Hector*, upon the Death of *Patroclus*. So that there are two Angers, one upon the Loss of his Friend, and the other upon the Forcing away of his Mistress: And the greatest Default is, that the Rest of the Poem has no Connexion with that Anger. For *Homer*, throughout the whole Extent of Eighteen Books, thinks no more of it; as if he had entirely forgot his Proposition and Design, which like a Star shou'd guide his Course, or like the Mariner's Compass, never ought to be out of his sight for fear of Deviating. During all this long Interval, he speaks only of Sieges, of Battles, and of Surprizes, of the several Consultations of the Gods, and of all that relates to the Siege of *Troy*. This was what gave *Horace* occasion to believe, that the Subject to that *Iliad* was the War of *Troy*, according to the very Name it goes under. And so from whatever side we take our View of this Poem, it will appear Defective, as to this Point.

*E' chiara-
vamente
provato che
l' Odissea
contenga
aue pere-
grinatione,
e insomma
sia di dop-
pia favola.*

Nor is the Action of the *Odysey* in any respect more Perfect, than that of the *Iliad*. It begins with the Voyages of *Telemachus*, and concludes with those of *Ulysses*. The Four first Books, are all concerning *Telemachus*; *Mene-laus*, *Nestor*, and the other *Grecian* Princes, give him an Account of the Adventures of *Troy*; all relate to that, and not the least thought of *Ulysses*; which made *Paul Beni* say, in his *Academical Discourses* upon *Homer* and *Virgil*, that the Fable of the *Odysey* was double.

Not

Not that I am absolutely of this Opinion, yet I may venture to affirm, that 'twill be a difficult Matter to find the Principal Action of the *Odyssey* regularly carried on, and according to the Proportions requir'd by *Horace* in the fore-mention'd Precept, for the Natural Connexion, of the Parts. Nay, this very Voyage of *Tele-machus*, bears not any the least Proportion to that of *Ulysses*, which is the Principal Action: It contributes nothing at all, nay, not so much as to minister any occasion for his Return, which is brought about by the Order and Contrivance of *Jupiter*, and by the Assistance of the *Phenicians*. And this made *Beni* say, That the Four first Books of the *Odyssey* are neither Episode, nor part of an Action, nor have they any Connexion with the Rest of the Work. Take them as they are, and you shall not know what to make of them.

The *Aeneid* seems not to me, to be chargeable with this Fault. *Aeneas* leaves *Phrygia*, makes his Voyages, and Settles himself in *Italy*; there is as it were a Train of Consequences in this Design, and all relates to the Establishment of a New Empire, which is the true Subject of the Poem. This, *Virgil* prosecutes home to the propos'd End, without the least delay upon what has no Relation to the Design, without the least Digression from the Subject.

*Semper ad eventum festinat, & in medias Res
Non secus ac notas Auditorem radit.*

Hor. ad Pis.

*Nothing is Idle, each Judicious Line
Insensibly acquaints us with the Plot.*

E. of Roscommon.

He

He is also more happy than *Homer*, in the Distribution and Arrangement of this Matter, and the particular Occurrences which relate to the General Order and Disposition of his Poem.

*Non des
stirmarsi
beccellenza
del Poëma,
da una sola
circonstan-
za o parte,
mà da tut-
te insieme.*

And it is this Distribution, and this Disposition of things, which makes that admirable Regularity, and that Proportion, in which alone consists the Perfection of a Great Work; which is neither Beautiful, nor Compleat, any farther than there is a just Correspondence between its Parts. This gave occasion to that Observation of *Paul Beni's*, in his *Academical Discourses*; that we ought not to make a Judgment of the Perfection of a Poem from the Beauty of one, or of several of its Parts, but of all together.

This just and regular Proportion of the Parts, and the exact Correspondence there ought to be between them, seems to be incomparably much better observ'd in the *Aeneid*, than in the *Iliad*: For there every thing is introduc'd in due Order, and in its proper Place, and no Man ever better observ'd that Distribution and regular ordering of the Subject Matter, and that Series of Events, than *Virgil* has done. Hence, *Horace* recommends it to the Poet above all things,

Ad Pison.

*Ut jam nunc dicat, jam nunc debentia dici
Pleraque differat :*

*As well the Force and Ornament of Verse
Consists in choosing a fit time for things,
And knowing when a Muse shou'd be indulg'd
In her full Flight, and when she shou'd be curb'd.*

E. of Roscommon.

Intimating,

Intimating, that the Beauty and Perfection of a Work, consists in that Order.

Ordinis hac virtus erit & Venus.

Ad Pison.

For the Grace and agreeable Charms that appear in any Work, cannot proceed from any thing, but from this regular Order and Distribution.

And not to dilate here, upon what may be more particularly and minutely observ'd on this Subject; I shall only stop a little, to draw a Comparison between the Games which *Achilles* Celebrated in the 23d Book of the *Iliad*, upon the Death of *Patroclus*, and those which *Aeneas* Celebrates for the Apotheosis of *Anchises*, in the Fifth of the *Aeneid*.

Games are of the Number of those Actions, which may occur in the Lives of Heroes, and so be introduc'd into the Subject-Matter of an Heroick Poem; because they are the Occasions of Magnificence, which is one of those Qualities that make up the Character of an Heroe. *Virgil* makes his Heroe, in the Fifth *Aeneid*, First, to divert the Fancy of his Reader from the mournful Object of *Dido's* Death, which he had Represented in the Fourth Book, and which indeed carries in it something of Barbarity; and then to divert himself, by diverting his Heroe; and these are of those Sorts of Pleasures, Diversions and Entertainments; which to succeed, ought to be introduc'd in their proper Place.

Virgil wou'd not have plac'd his Games well, either in his Second or Third Book; for this had been to have enter'd upon his Recreations too soon, as *Homer* has done it too late, in the 23 *Iliad*. The Time was then elaps'd, 'twas

L

unsea-

A Comparison of

unseasonable, People were quite tir'd out, for he shou'd not have begun to have amus'd himself, when he was so near the End. This is as if a Traveller, intent upon his Return from the *Indies* to *Paris*, after two full Years spent in his Voyage, should trifle away a whole Month at *Diepe*, at Tables, or in seeing Plays; for 'twou'd argue no less, than a strange Want of Judgment. And in truth, *Homer* might have been more Serious towards the End of his Work; for he ought, in Appearance at least, to have been a little Fatigu'd, and not have wandered at that time of Day, when he was so near the End of his Race. There are an infinite Number of Things utterly Incredible, in the Representation of these Games. The Arbitrators or Judges make long Discourses, which tire and wear out the Patience of the Readers.

The second Part of the Disposition, which is the just Intermixture and Temperament of what is Miraculous, with what is Probable, is likewise Essential to an *Epick* Poem, which ought to have something Admirable in it, to move the Souls of Great Men, for whose sakes it is writ, to animate them with Courage for Glorious Achievements: But with this Caution, that it have somewhat of Probability in it too, so as not to give a Check to their Emulation, or hurry them into Despair. Truth itself, which the Historian ought closely to adhere to, being sometimes too strong to be imitated, is not always so proper for the Subject-Matter of an *Epick* Poem, as Probability, which bears a greater Proportion to Things than Men are wont to make. For Example, the Action of *Sampson*, who defeated the *Philistines*, with the Jaws-bone of an Ass, is an Heroick Action;

on; but incapable, of being made the Subject of an *Epick* Poem. For though it be true, yet it seems not very highly Probable; and is too Miraculous to be propos'd for Imitation. We are to avoid therefore this Excess, by a just Temperament of Probability, without which all becomes Fabulous and Incredible, and makes not the least Impressions upon the Soul; which suffers not it self to be mov'd, but with what carries in it some Degrees of Possibility.

Let us now see whether *Homer* has been more fortunate in the Observance of this Rule, than the Person we have been speaking of. He takes so little Care of the probable Part, and so far advances the Miraculous, out of an excessive Piece of Vanity and Affectation of being in all Parts equally Admirable, and of raising the Passions, and elevating the Soul, that he leaves nothing to be perform'd by the strength of Reason, of Passion, or even of Nature it self, but all is done by Machines. When *Priam* lost *Hector*, no less than *Jupiter* himself must send the King the fatal News by the Goddess *Iris*, with this Advice too, That he shou'd take care of his Son's Body, and Ransom it from *Achilles*. Cou'd not the Father, who had so great a Tenderness and Affection for his Son, and was so superstitious an Observer of the Funeral Rites and Ceremonies, and that cou'd not have suffer'd a *Depositum* so precious, to have been left at the Mercy of Birds of Prey; cou'd not he, I say, have thought of all this himself; but there must be a Machine to put him in Mind, that he is a Father?

When *Telemachus*, in the *Odyssy*, sets out, in order to make a Search for his Father in the Courts of *Greece*, he cannot make the least Progress, nor proceed one Step, without the Assi-

stance of *Minerva*. She is his Guide wherever he goes, she alone puts him upon such and such Thoughts; he can neither do, nor think of himself. Cou'd not Honour, Duty, and even Nature it self have mov'd his Heart, and rais'd some Disquietude in his Breast, upon the Account of an Absent Father, Absent for near the space of Eighteen Years, but there must Recourse be had to a Foreign Power, to a Machine? And besides too, this Machine has not the least Appearance of Probability, in as much as *Minerva* conducts *Telemachus* all over Greece in search after *Ulysses*, except only to the very Place where he is, which she certainly ought by no means to have been ignorant of, upon the Account of her Divinity, from which nothing surely can be conceal'd.

And yet this is *Homer's* Method, who to appear wonderful in every part, wou'd do every Thing by Ways and Means extraordinary. It may be said without any Injustice to our Author, that he puts his Gods upon mean and vulgar Employments, and Assigns them their several Posts, as if they were to act their Parts in a Comedy. He makes *Mercury* Priam's Coachman to carry him to *Achilles*, to demand the Body of his Son; and lest the good King's Person shou'd be expos'd to the Scouts of the Army in his Passage to the Grecian Camp, *Jupiter* employs the same *Mercury* to lull them asleep; and to prepare *Achilles* his Heart and predispose it to a just Sense of Piety, *Thetis* his Mother, is sent by *Jupiter's* Orders to prevent the Hero, and incline him to a compassionate Temper. No less than the Goddess *Minerva* her self is dispatch'd in the 19 Book of the *Odyssey*, to carry a Flambeau before *Ulysses* and *Telemachus*, to conduct them through the dark
to

to their Retirement, where they were to get ready their Armour. In short, the Gods are employ'd upon all Occasions, and not the least Per ambages Deorumq; misteria. Sat. Regard had either to their Rank and Order, or to the Peace and Tranquillity of their Condition. They are as so many Galley-Slaves to be employ'd in any Work.

This is not the Air of *Virgil*, who has always most religiously observ'd what *Horace* has, in his Art of Poetry, long since advis'd, that the Gods are not to be put upon any Action, unless the Thing it self truly deserves it.

Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus Inciderit.

Hor. Poet.

*Never presume to make a God appear,
But for a Business worthy of a God.*

E. of Roscommon.

Thus does that judicious Poet introduce *Mercury*, in the Fourth *Aeneid*, to extricate him out of those horrible Perplexities he was in. The Promise he had made to *Dido*, detains him at *Carthage*, but the future Fortunes of his Son, and the certain Prospect of the Empire of the whole World, confirm'd to him by the irreversible Decrees of the Gods, press his Departure thence. He is under a dread on the one side, of being chargeable with a Defect of Fidelity, with want of Sincerity and Integrity, in relation to *Dido*; and on the other, of Duty and due Submission to the Gods. To free him therefore from these Troubles, there must be sent down one from above, some superior Power, no less than a God must speak to surmount the Heroe's Difficulties, and null the Engagement; and *Mercury* is the God that does all this.

A Comparison of

The same may be likewise said of the Adventures of *Aeneas*, in the first *Aeneid*. 'Tis not a Shepherd or a Huntsman that will serve him for his Guide in the wandering Condition he was in, which wou'd have been natural enough; but it is *Venus* that appears to him, that tells him what Country he is in, and acquaints him with the Adventures of his Companions whom he had given over for lost, and that directs him in his Course through unknown Paths. For such was then the Posture of Affairs, that 'twas necessary for some Deity to intervene, to raise the drooping Spirits of *Aeneas*, and animate him with new Courage; him, I say, who had been so great a Sufferer by a most dreadful Tempest, who had lost Part of his Fleet amongst the Waves, and who had been himself forc'd by the Storm upon a Desert shore, destitute of all human Relief, and reduc'd almost to Despair. 'Twas fit the Poet shou'd not leave him in these Extremities; and 'twas likewise according to the Degrees of Probability we have before stated, that the Gods ought in some measure to concern themselves for him; since his Piety made him so careful of, and solicitous for their Interest; and since too, they were the Companions of his Exile and Flight. Nor was it less, in Conformity to the Rules of Decency and Decorum, that it shou'd be the Heroe's Mother that shou'd engage in this Enterprize, and make it her Business to encourage him, especially, after she had been inform'd by *Jupiter* of his Destiny.

But besides that all these Machines and Contrivances of *Virgil*, have a better Foundation, in Reason and Probability, than those of *Homer*; you will find them less frequent, and less forc'd, if you take the Leisure to Examine them

them one after another. Nay, the very Management of the Ministry of the Gods, is much more suitable to their Rank and Condition, and perform'd with incomparably far greater Judgment in *Virgil*, than in *Homer*, whom for that Reason, *Dion Chrysostome* calls the *greatest Impostor in the World*, and that in Things most difficult to be believ'd.

We may add farther, according to *Tasso's* Remarks in his *Opuscula*, that *Virgil* had the Happiness of giving those Embellishments to his Poem by something wonderful and surprizing; which *Homer*, notwithstanding all his Affectation of, and Pretensions to that Art, was not the least aware of, as the giving Courage to Women, and engaging them in Acts of Hostility, such as *Camilla* is put upon in the Eleventh Book; and with so good Success, as to prove a very great Ornament to the *Æneid*. This is what *Tasso* takes notice of, and that long since that Observation made by *Dion Chrysostome*, in his Discourse of the Affairs of *Troy*. *Niuna cosa par più mara vigliosa, della fortezza femminile; Virgilio occupiò questa parte, della quale Homero s'era dimenticato.* Nothing seems more admirable, than Female Courage; *Virgil was entirely Master of this, in which Homer was as much defective.*

The third Part of the Disposition, is the Intermixture of the *Episodes* with the principal Action. An *Episode* is a kind of Digression from the Subject, and consequently ought not to be long, if we rightly observe the Proportions. Neither ought it to be forc'd, violently extorted, or far fetch'd, so as to betray its dissimilarity to the Subject. In fine, it ought not to be too often, lest it occasion a Confusion of Matters. *Homer* begins his *Odyssey*, which is the more perfect Poem, with an *Episode* of Four

A Comparison of

Books. He goes off from his Subject before he has well entred upon it, and to make a regular Structure, he begins with a Piece very improper and unsuitable for his Design, according to the Observations I have already made.

Has *Virgil* any thing like all this in his *Episodes*, which bear so admirable a Proportion to the Subject, as is that of *Pallas* and *Evander*, that of *Nisus* and *Euryalus*, that of *Camilla*, and several others? Nay, that of *Dido*, which is the Noblest and largest of them all, never excludes the Person of the Heroe. It is he that speaks, he that relates his own Adventures: If he recedes ought from his Subject, he still makes frequent Returns upon himself. This is not to be met with either in the *Iliad* or *Odysey*, where we lose our View for the space of several Books. *Achilles* and *Ulysses*, the Heroes of those Poems, are quite out of sight, and a Man may fetch a large Compass before he can meet with them again.

I leave it to those that can better spare time to examine, whether the *Episodes* of *Homer* are not more Forc'd and less Natural than those of *Virgil*. What Connexion is there between, or what Reference has the Wound which *Mars* receiv'd from *Diomedes*, to the Anger of *Achilles*? *Homer* enlarges much upon this Adventures in the Fifth *Iliad*. *Mars* crying like a Child, goes and makes his Complaints to *Jupiter*, who unkindly treats him with bitter Raileries. However, to make up the Story, *Paan* the Physician of the Gods is sent for to cure him; and the Goddess *Hebe* interposes and concerns her self for him. The Poet, who thinks this Passage Pleasant and Diverting, carries on the Fiction so far, as to descend to Wantonness and Ridicule; a Fault that would deserve our Pity,
were

were not Men so prepossess'd with an Esteem and Value for him upon the Account of the Grandeur and Sublimity of his Genius.

But not to insist too long upon Particulars, which wou'd be an endless piece of Work; we may conclude, That *Virgil* never wanders from his Subject, that *Homer* seldom keeps so much as within distance of his; and that by the Multiplicity and vast Train of his *Episodes*, he is continually hurried away with the Impetuosity and Violence of his Imagination, to which he lets himself loose without the least Discretion. He may be compar'd to those Travellers, who upon a long Journey are diverted and stopt by every little Thing. There is not one single Blow given in the Heat of an Engagement, but he must from thence take an Occasion to tell Stories, and derive Genealogies.

C H A P. VII.

Of MORALITY.

Morality ought, according to *Aristotle's* Scheme, to follow the Disposition of the Fable. It is the third Quality of an Epick Poem; nor are we here, by Morality, to understand the Morality of the Poet, but the Morality of the Actors, and of those Persons that are to enter upon Action. What a vast and irreconcilable Difference shall we find between our two admirable Poets, as to this Point? Kings and Princes in *Homer*, talk to one another with all the Scurrility imaginable. *Agamemnon*, in the *Iliad*, treats *Chryses* with great Insolence,

solence, and much Indignity; when the unhappy old Man comes to him to demand, with the most profound Respect, and with Presents too in Hand, his own Daughter, whom he had injuriously Ravish'd from him. The Haughty Prince tells him, that he has no Regard to the External Marks of his Priesthood, a Title, by which he had just Pretence enough to some kind of Respect, to a favourable Reception at least. Nor does this High-Priest express himself afterwards like a Man of great Virtue in the Prayer he makes to *Apollo*, in which he imprecates his Vengeance on the *Greeks* to satisfy his poor Resentments. This is somewhat Uncharitable, and beneath the Dignity of a Person, whose Office it was to pray for the People, and for the Preservation of the Government, according to his Function of High-Priest.

Achilles, in the Nineteenth *Iliad*, goes to his Mother *Thetis* to acquaint her with what a Concern he is under for the Body of his Friend *Patroclus* then lately kill'd, lest the Flies shou'd injure it; lest they shou'd enter into the Wounds, which wou'd breed Corruption, and that render the Body loathsome. Is not all this Heat and Fury against these little Animals, well becoming a Heroe? And is not he a most Excellent Poet, that employs no less than a God to drive them away?

Ulysses, whom *Homer* proposes as the Standard and Model of Humane Wisdom, suffers himself to be made drunk by the *Pheacians*, for which *Aristotle* and *Philostratus* both blame this Poet. But what an Instance of Extravagancy, and of the greatest Carelessness was it, for that most accomplish'd Sage, so soon to forget his Wife, a Woman of such eminent Virtue, and his Son, that was so dear to him, to throw
away

away so much Time in the Arms of *Calipso*, a vile Prostitute, and to wander up and down so long after *Circe*, an Infamous Sorceress; and being no less than a King, to demean himself so low, as to enter the List with a pitiful rascally Beggar, called *Irus*. *Priam*, in the 24 *Iliad*, does not speak like a Father; He expresses himself with a great deal of Barbarity towards his other Children, only to shew his Grief for the Death of *Hector*. He wishes them all dead, so *Hector* were but alive again. His Afflictions, I think, might certainly have been express'd some other way.

I shall say nothing of the Inhumanity of *Achilles* upon the Body of *Hector*, after he was dead, but only cite what *Cicero* says of it in the first Book of his *Tusculan Questions*. This Pleasure of dragging a dead Body, thus to be reveng'd of it, is not very Heroical. The Interview between *Ulysses* and the Daughter of *Alcinous*, in the sixth *Odyssey*, is contrary to all the Rules of Decency and Decorum; and that Princess forgets her Modesty, and betrays her Virtue, by giving too long Audience to the distressed Man, in yielding too much to his Complaints, and in too far Indulging her own Curiosity at the Sight of a Person in such desperate Circumstances.

*Trahit Hector
Florem ad
currum re-
ligatum
Achilles,
lacerari
eum &
sentire cre-
do, putat,
& ulcisci-
tur ut sibi
videtur.
Cic. Tusc.
l. I.*

In fine, there is but little Decorum observ'd in *Homer's* Poems. Fathers are harsh and cruel, the Heroes weak and passionate, the Gods expos'd to Miseries, uneasie and quarrelsome, and incens'd against one another; there being not the least of that *Stoick* Philosophy throughout the whole, which *Zeno* and his Followers have taught Men since, to make them more rational, and more perfect, than the Gods of *Homer*. But in *Virgil*, every thing preserves

*In Argu-
mentis Cæ-
cilius pal-
mam poscit,
in Sermo-
nibus*

*Plautus, in
Moribus
Terentius.*

preserves its Character. *Drances* and *Turnus* quarrel there, but like Persons of Quality. The Passion of *Æneas* and *Dido*, is indeed pursu'd to the utmost Extremity; and yet there is no violation of Modesty, no Breach of the Rules of Decency, nor any Default in outward Behaviour. The Gods themselves are Persons of some Quality and good Repute. Whatever is Essential in the Arts of Decency and Decorum, is here most strictly observ'd. For *Virgil* has always follow'd that admirable Method he found in *Terence*, of whom *Varro* says, that he had, as to Morality and Decency, gain'd by far, the Advantage over *Cæcilius* and *Plautus*, who were as eminent for other Talents.

But we must pardon this Weakness in *Homer*, who wrote in a Time, when the Precepts of Morality were scarce form'd. The World was yet too young, to have learnt the Principles of true Honesty. Morality was more accomplish'd, and the Precepts of it better known in *Virgil's* Time, in whom we shall find them less defective than in *Homer*. For *Virgil* could not himself dissemble his own Sentiments, as to the Injustice of the Civil War, tho' it occasion'd the Establishment of the Government, and of the Fortune of *Augustus* his Patron. He could not approve of it, and, as if he had been himself fraught with Republican Principles under a Monarchical Establishment, he condemns that Form of Government, but with the greatest Caution and Tendernefs imaginable, by cajoling and flattering *Cæsar*, who was the Author of it.

*Tuque prior, Tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo
Projice tela manu, Sanguis meus.—*

And

*And thou the first lay down thy lawless Claim,
Thou of my Blood who bears the Julian Name.*

Mr. Dryden.

Thus was his Morality full of Honour and Integrity, and directly opposite to that Spirit of Flattery, which then, under the Monarchy, began to be countenanc'd.

C H A P. VIII.

Of THOUGHTS.

THoughts, which are the Fourth Qualification of a Poem, have so great a Reference to, and Correspondence with Morality, that the Principles of the one, are likewise the Principles of the other: Nay, we may be allow'd to say, that Thoughts are in effect, but only the Expressions of Morality. It is not therefore much to be wonder'd at, that *Virgil* should have the Advantage of *Homer* in this Respect, since he had it after so singular a manner in the other. And for this he is indebted to the Age he wrote in, which was more polite and refin'd, than that in which *Homer* flourish'd, who made it not so much his Business to think well, as to speak well; for his Thoughts are never so fine and delicate, as his Discourses. I shall not therefore stand to make a long Comparifon between them, but only give you an Observation or two upon some of those Thoughts, which *Homer* inspires his Heroes with, from which we may form a

Judg-

Judgment of the Rest. *Agamemnon*, in the first *Iliad*, says, that the Reason he retain'd *Chryseis* was, that he had a greater Affection and Esteem for her, than he had for *Clytemnestra*. Here you may see an Instance of a kind and honest Husband forsooth, to prefer a Stranger before his own Wife, and a Slave before a Princess that was a Person of the highest Desert.

Nestor, in the Ninth *Iliad*, tells *Agamemnon*, who desires his Advice upon the Distraction of Affairs, occasion'd by the Absence of *Achilles*, that he will give him most incomparable Counsel, and that never any Person since the Foundation of the World had ever given better. The good Man is full of Vanity and Ostentation, and considering his Character, he might indeed have been more Modest, and more upon the Reserve. The Counsel too, he gives, is not so very extraordinary, it being no more than this, that *Achilles* should be appeas'd, that all imaginable Satisfaction should be given him, and that they should oblige him to return to the Army. This argued no very great Depth of Policy; a Person of but ordinary Endowments might have given as good Advice.

Antilochus, his Son, in the 23d *Iliad*, speaks to his Horses; enters into a formal Discourse with them, and conjures them to do their utmost, to exert all their Vigour to win the Race, from *Menelaus* and *Diomedes*, at the Games that were to be celebrated upon the Death of *Patroclus*. He encourages and excites them with the most pressing Earnestness of Discourse imaginable, yet with very Trivial and Childish Reasons, telling them, that his Father *Nestor* will turn them out of his Service, or cut their Throats,

Throats, if they do not as they should do. In short, he becomes a very Pathetick Orator to meer brute Beasts.

'Tis true indeed, *Plutarch* in his Treatise upon *Homer*, Apologizes for the Liberty the Poet took in making *Antilochus* in this place, and *Hector* in another, speak to their Horses, from his Opinion of the Transmigration of Souls, which he had taken from *Pythagoras*; but I will appeal to that Philosophy, whether the *Metempsychosis* renders Beasts, less Beasts than they were, and whether it Qualifies them to be more capable of attending to the Dictates of Reason.

Jupiter, in the Fifth *Iliad*, tells *Mars*, after that *Diomedes* had wounded him, that he could no longer bear with him, that he justly deserv'd the Misfortune that had happen'd to him, for his base Compliance with the Counsels of his Mother *Juno*, who was of an unruly Spirit, and of an Humour very untractable. What strange Kindnesses are these, for the Prince of the Gods to shew towards his Wife? What Comfort and Consolation was this to his Son *Mars*, who was then newly wounded? We should never have done, should we go on thus with these Remarks. Besides, that *Virgil* is not subject to these Weaknesses, he is always Serious, always Sublime and Lofty, to maintain and keep up the Character of his Heroes. He does not descend so low, as to Droll, and be Facetious and Merry, with great Familiarity; a Thing so beneath the Dignity of his Rank and Station, and so contrary to all Decency, which *Homer* often forgot. For he puts off that Air of Grandeur and Majesty, which so properly belongs to his Character; and every now and then, debases himself by degeneratiug into a
loose

loose and familiar way of Talking, and by turning Things into Ridicule, under Pretence of entertaining his Reader with something Pleasant and Diverting. As when, for Instance, in the Eighth Book of the *Odyssey*, he entertains the Gods with a Comedy, some of them he makes Buffoons, by introducing *Mars* and *Venus* on the Stage, taken in a Net *Vulcan* had lay'd for them, contrary to that Air of Gravity, which is so Essential to an Heroick Poem. The Scuffle between *Irus* and *Ulysses*, in the Eighteenth Book, borders much upon the Burlesque, as does likewise the Character of *Thersitis*, and the Story of *Venus's* being wounded, in the *Iliad*. But to do *Homer* all the Right he deserves, we may very justly make this Reflexion, That the Weaknesses of this Poet, are not so much to be imputed to him, as to the Age he liv'd in, which was not capable of any greater Refinement, either in Thoughts or in Morals.

C H A P. IX.

Of WORDS.

AS Thoughts are the Expressions of Morality, so Words are the Expressions of Thoughts. And in this, which is the Fifth Qualification, according to *Aristotle's* Order, *Homer* triumphs, as being that in which he is most accomplished. There is no contesting this with him; 'tis an Advantage he, without any manner of Dispute, has above all other Poets, and that in such a manner as cannot be well

well express'd. 'Twas this admirable Talent of expressing Things finely, that made *Sophocles*, who passes for the Model and Standard of Tragedy, his constant Admirer, and most exact Imitator; upon which Account the Criticks call'd him *The great Lover of Homer*. For the same Reason it is, that *Plato*, in the Tenth Book of his *Republick*, styles him the Prince of Heroick Poets. *Pindar* in the Seventh Ode of the *Nemean Games*, Commends and Admires him upon no other Account, but for the Loftiness and Grandeur of his Style. And *Longinus* in his Treatise, proposes him as the most perfect and lively Idea of a Majestick Style, and always Quotes him as the only Model of the true Sublime.

In short, it may be said, that it is upon the Account of this Qualification, that he hath thus impos'd upon all Antiquity; and that the Elegancy and Beauty of his Words, was the Charm that drew all the Men of Learning into so vast an Esteem for him. For as the Pleasantry and Lustre of a Poem consists entirely in the Expressions of it, which are generally the principal Parts of its Beauty; *Homer*, who has excell'd all the Poets in the Nobleness, Elegancy and Grandeur of His, has thereby deserv'd that Admiration which all Ages have had for him. 'Twas this that made *Pindar* (whom *Horace* proposes as a Model) and all the Greek Lyricks despair of ever attaining to the Majesty of *Homer's Verse*. And *Patriculus*, in the First Book of his History, has this Commendation of him, *That he alone deserv'd the Name of a Poet from the Delicacy and Sweetness of his Verses*.

Pindarus
Novemque
Lyrici Ho-
mericis
versibus
canere ti-
muerunt.
Satyr. Pet.
Fulgore
carminum
solus Poeta
apellari
meruit,
mollissima
dulcedine
carminum
memorabi-
lis. Paterc.

'Tis upon the Score of this most admirable Advantage, that *Lycurgus* made so great an

M

Often-

A Comparison of

Ostentation of his Poetry, in the Oration he made against *Leocrates*; that *Æschylus* says in *Plutarch* and *Arheneus*, that his Tragedies are but the Crumbs of *Homer's* great Banquets; that *Plato* affirms him to be the most Accomplish'd, and the most Divine of all the Poets; that *Aristides* in the third Tome of his *Orations*, says, That no Man ever spoke better; and that *Aristotle* in his Treatise upon Poetry, likewise says, That he transcends all others in the Height and Grandeur of his Expressions. *Socrates* in one of his *Epistles* to *Xenophon*; *Xenophon* himself in his *Banquet*; *Democritus* in *Dion Chrysostome*; *Aristophanes* in the *Frogs*; *Hierocles* in his *Fragments* in *Stobæus*; *Hermogenes* in his *Ideas*; *Philostratus* in his *Heroick Images*; *Theocritus* in his sixteenth *Idyllium*; *Moschus* in his third; *Plutarch* in his Discourse he made upon *Homer*; *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* in the *Construction of Names*; *Jamblicus* in the *Life of Pythagoras*; *Origen* against *Celsus* in his seventh Book; *Maximus Tyrius* in his sixteenth *Dissertation*; *Lucian* in his *Elogy on Demosthenes*; *Themistius* in his sixteenth *Oration*; and an infinite Number of others, do Unanimously affirm the same Thing.

But all these Great Men, whom I have nam'd, gave these their Commendations of *Homer*, only upon the Account of the Beauty and Lustre of his Discourse, for which indeed, we cannot Admire, nor Praise him too much. And it must be Acknowledg'd likewise, that upon this single Advantage, in which he Excells in a most Eminent manner, he justly deserves the Preference before *Virgil*, tho' *Virgil* be the most Prudent, the most Discreet, and the most Judicious of all that ever wrote.

C H A P. X.

Reflections upon the Expressions of Homer and Virgil.

There is still somewhat farther to be remarked concerning the Expressions of *Homer*, the Beauty and Lustre of which have so highly deserv'd the Esteem and Applause, even of all Antiquity.

The Transitions, which, answerable to their Design, ought to be very much varied for the greater Diversion of the Reader; are as near alike, and for the most part the same throughout the whole Work. We cannot reckon up above Twenty or Thirty different Sorts in the whole Extent of near Thirty thousand Verses, and consequently one and the same Connexion, commonly presenting it self, is very apt to give some Distaste by so frequent a Repetition. This gave *Martial* an Occasion to be Witty upon τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος, and to say, that the *Latine* Muses were not so Light and Airy as the *Grecian* Muses were. *Qui Musas colimus Severiores.*

The Comparisons are flat and forc'd, and sometimes not very Natural, and never very Excellent; tho' in so great a Number of them, it is impossible, but there must be some just and true. I shall say nothing of that, which is become so famous for its Indecency and Meanness, that all the World have heard of it. For what can be more gross and absurd, and more flat, to say no worse, than to compare *Ajax* in the midst of an Engagement, surrounded by his Enemies on all sides, and overwhelm'd by the

the Number of repeated Blows, to an Ass feeding in a Field of Corn, which the Children would drive out from thence with their Poles? I leave it to any one to think, what a Noble Effect such a Piece of Fancy must needs have in a Poem so Grave and Serious as the *Iliad*; and I'll appeal to any Man's Judgment, whether the Colours of this Comparison afford us any thing Pleasant and Agreeable, tho' we allow it all the Advantages that can be. For there are some Grammarians that pretend to have found out some Delicacy in it, and so by all Means would justify the Comparison. But however, I shall not in the least scruple to own, that there are some most admirable Comparisons in this Poet, where we may find all the Beauties and Graces of Expression, which *Virgil* has taken the Advantage of, and plac'd them so well in his Poem, by giving them a new Turn, and a different Air.

Descriptions, which are look'd upon for the most part a Puerile, and too Light and Airy for Eloquence, are very frequent in *Homer*; they are spun out to too great a Length, and seem somewhat affected. The Description of the Gardens of *Alcinous* in the Seventh, and that of the Port of *Ithaca* in the Thirteenth *Odyssey*, are of this Nature. The Description of the Port, and that of the Grott, where the Nymphs Inhabited, take up Eighteen Verses, upon which *Porphiry* has wrote a Commentary. The Description of Mount *Ætna*, in the Third Book of *Virgil*, is drawn within the Compass of a very few Verses, tho' he had a fair and just Occasion of Dilating on that Subject; and *Phavorinus* in *Aulus Gellius* finds he might have enlarged. 'Tis true indeed, the Description of the Port of *Lybia*, is in Ten Verses, and
that

that of Fame, in the Fourth Book, in more; but the former is pardonable, upon the Account, that it was Expedient to give the Readers Mind some Ease, after the Relation of a Tempest; and it is, I must own, the largest Description in the whole *Æneid*; and the latter, which is the Description of Fame, is not truly the most exquisite Piece in that Author? For he is much upon the Reserve every where else, and is not guilty of those Childish trifling Essays, which *Horace* in his *Art of Poetry*, says, are Insufferable in Matters Serious.

——— *Cum lucus & Ara Dianæ,
Et properantis Aquæ per amenos ambitus agros.
Aut flumen Rhenum, aut pluvius describitur arcus.*

*Here they describe a Temple or a Wood,
Or Streams that through delightful Meadows run,
And there the Rainbow, or the rapid Rhine.*
E. of Roscommon.

'Tis true indeed, these Descriptions of Woods, Temples, Rivers, the Rainbow, and other such pleasant Things have a Relish of something Childish; and as that Great Man says, are as disagreeable with great Subjects, as a Piece of rich and very fine Cloath is with common and ordinary Stuff.

*Inceptis gravibus plerumque & magna professis,
Purpureus latè qui splendeat unus & alter,
Assuitur Pannus*———

A Comparison of

*Some that at first have promis'd mighty things,
Applaud themselves, when a few florid Lines
Shine through the insipid Dulness of the rest.*

E. of Roscommon.

These far-fetch'd Beauties never charm much,
because where-ever they are plac'd, they have
not a due Connexion and Coherence with, nor
do they bear a just proportion to the whole, by
reason of their being too glittering.

——— *Non erat hic locus.*

But they misplac'd them all, and crowd them in,
E. of Roscommon.

It must be acknowledg'd likewise, that *Homer* is more to be admir'd than *Virgil*, for his Epithets and Adverbs. This is indeed his Master-piece; never was any Imagination Richer, more Fruitful, and more Happy; and 'tis no better than down-right Raillery to pretend, that he repeats his *modas vñs* too often. 'Tis no such Thing, 'tis a great Piece of Injustice done him, to upbraid him with Poverty and Barrenness of Expression on this Account; for I my self have counted above Twenty other different Epithets in the *Iliad* for *Achilles* alone. *Virgil* in Comparison to *Homer*, is poor indeed, as to these Circumstances, wanting all those kind of Ornaments, which arise from the rich and fruitful Treasure of the *Greek* Tongue, which the *Latine* could by no means boast of: And if we despoil *Homer* of his Epithets and Adverbs, we should rob him of the best of his Graces. For without doubt, these are the most Ornamental Parts, and what add a very great Beauty to the Whole.

But

But after all, it might be rightly observ'd, that these Epithets, which are so great an Ornament to the Poem, are very common and obvious. For without any more ado, he calls Snow *White*, Milk *Sweet*, and Fire *Burning*. He does not endeavour and aim at so much Delicacy and Fineness, as our late Authors, who allow of no Epithets, as tolerable, if they have not a kind of Counter-signification to the Words they are join'd with, to give a more extraordinary Air to the Discourse, and make it Sparkle by a kind of Clashing and Opposition of Words with one another; which deprav'd and vicious Palats Relish as a piece of great Delicacy. For you'll find, that there are some that can discover something strangely entertaining in a Conjunction of such Words as are at an irreconcilable Variance with one another; nay, of such as are utterly inconsistent with one another. *Ovid*, in his *Metamorphosis*, and in his *Epistles*, and *Velleius Paterculus* were the first that gave this *false Gusto* to the Age they liv'd in; an Age that was mightily devoted to Simplicity. *Seneca*, with all the great Declaimers of that Age, whose Fragments we read in his Controversies, greatly affected to imitate them; but they did it without that good Management observable in *Ovid* and *Paterculus*, who knew how to use these false and counterfeit Jewels to the best Advantage. *Lucan* and *Tacitus*, studied to make themselves Masters of this Character, and were the first Authors of that Art, which consisted in a pleasant and merry Jingling of Words, that were opposite to one another, such as Superficial Wits are so much Enamour'd with. And 'twas, in short, from this Universal Debauch, from this general Corruption, that the Epigrams of *Martial*, and

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the Panegyricks of *Pliny*, *Pacatus* and *Mamertinus*, sprung up in after Ages. Not but that this way of Writing has its Beauties, but they are such as those Women are Celebrated for, who Patch and Paint, and use all External and Artificial Ornaments, because they have no Natural and Real ones.

Nor is it at all in the least to be denied, but that an Epithet that is bright and splendid, and judiciously plac'd, is a wonderful Ornament in Discourse, as that us'd by *Dido* in her Epistle to *Aeneas*; *Exerces pretiosa odia*.

*To shun my Love, if thou wilt seek thy Fate,
'Tis a dear Purchase, and a costly Hate.*

Mr. Dryden.

Which you'll meet with in *Ovid*, whose *Heroides* I always esteem'd as the most Glittering and Resplendent of all those Works that are the pure Productions of the Mind, the true and genuine Results of Wit and Fancy, which our Poets will never attain to. Of the same Stamp and Character is the Title *Velleius Paterculus* Hist. l. 2. confers on *L. Domitius*, *eminentissimæ simplicitatis Virum*; and abundance of other such like Expressions which may be found in those two Authors. But as these Words betray a certain Lustre, and are somewhat Brisk and Spritely, so some have been so often wanting in that Moderation requisite to a just and true Management of them. For 'tis the common Fault of those that have the Art of Expressing themselves well, that they cannot govern themselves as to the Number of their Words, but are apt to launch out too far, and, transported with the Success they meet with, let themselves entirely loose, and at length become very distasteful through

through an excessive Desire of being over Pleasand and Diverting in their Discourse. So that it were much better, in order to avoid this Fault, and keep within the Limits of good Solid Sense, especially in a continued Discourse, which ought to have some Characters at least of Grandeur and Majesty, and to show somewhat of an exalted Genius; I say, it were much better to forbear the Use of those Nice Epithets, which seem somewhat Abstruse and Mysterious. Those which are the most Obvious, and which best express the Nature of the Things, are always the Choicest, and such are those which *Homer* us'd. I must confess indeed, that to effect this, there is requisite a far greater Share of Judgment and Discretion, than of Wit and Fancy; but Men never speak well, but when they think wisely, and such as do that, are never behind hand in their Accounts, as the Critick has observ'd. Which is to be understood as well of the Nature of the Discourse, as of the Morality of it.

Adeo nihil commodius quam semper cum sapientiâ loqui.

CHAP. XI.

How the Character of Homer is to be distinguish'd from that of Virgil.

TO Form a Judgment with some kind of Certainty of these two incomparable Authors, 'twill be necessary to discern exactly between their several Characters, which are very opposite to one another. For *Homer* being inclin'd to speak much, and *Virgil* to be silent; 'tis upon this Difference that we must found our Distin-

A Comparison of

Distinction, and from hence make an exact Computation of their peculiar *Genius*, and of the essential Marks and Tokens of their Character: There are a Sort of Men who have the Vanity to set up for great Criticks, and pretend to give their Judgment of *Virgil*, from their grave and profound Reflections upon him, without ever in the least Observing in what the eminent Quality of the Fancy and Judgment of that Poet, by which he is always distinguish'd from the Rest, does principally consist. For my own part, who admire nothing so much in his way of Writing, as that admirable Moderation and Reservation he is so much Master of in his Expressing of Things, and in his not Expressing of any more than what is just requisite; I have ever been of Opinion, that by this Criterion alone we might distinguish him. A Man must be very Cautious, and use great Application in the Perusal of him, to find out, that his very Silence in some certain Passages, speaks more than we think of, and argues most exquisite Prudence and Discretion. For when he has once got the Method of sounding his Meaning, he'll find him sometimes as admirable in what he says not, as in what he says.

And for my part, I know not of any Author besides *Virgil*, that has such a Stock of Prudence to guard and secure his Moderation and Sedateness amidst the Heat and Fury of an Imagination inflam'd by a Genius of Poesy, the most inspir'd that ever was. *Lucan*, in Comparison of him, is Rash and Inconsiderate, knowing no Bounds; and *Statius* is again as Furious. *Ovid* himself cou'd never arrive to that Perfection, till toward the latter End of his Days, when he writ his *Fasti*, which is the only

only piece of all his Works, wherein he shows himself Moderate and Discreet, for in the Rest he discovers much of Youth and Gayety. His Introductions of Examples, and Comparisons in his Books *de Tristibus*, and his other *Elegies* do not come up to this Character; and his *Epistles*, which I look upon as the Flowers of the Roman Wit, have not the least of that Maturity of Judgment, which is the Sovereign Perfection of *Virgil*. And as to this Particular, I may be allow'd to compare *Virgil* to those Generals of Armies, who carry about with them even in the very Hurry of a Fight, all the Tranquillity and Composure of their Cabinet-Counsels; and who in the greatest Heat of Action, amidst the Noise of Cannons, Drums and Trumpets, and the general Distraction and Tumult of an Engagement, are not intent upon any Thing but what their own Prudence and Moderation dictates to them, and act only as their own Reason, their most faithful Counsellour directs them. And this is a Character not to be found in any but great Souls, and Persons of the most Consummate Wisdom, such as was *Virgil*; who in the Heat of his Poetick Fury, says no more than is proper to be said, and always leaves more to be thought of a Thing, than he says of it.

This is a Commendation not much unlike that which *Pliny* gives the Admirable Painter *Timantes*, in the tenth Chapter of the 35th Book of his History. *Timanti plurimum adsuit ingenii in omnibus operibus ejus intelligitur plus semper quam pingitur.* *Timantes had a great Fancy in all his Pieces, there was always more understood than express'd.* And a little after he adds, to explain himself; *Rarum in successu Artis, ut ostendat etiam quæ occultat.* He was peculiar in the Success of his Art,

*Sumpſi ali-
quid hoc
loco de tuâ
Eloquen-
tiâ, nam
tacui. Ad
Attic. E-
piſt. l. 13.*

Art, to diſplay even thoſe things which lay conceal'd.

And this in ſome Reſpect, reſembles that wonderful and ſurprizing Eloquence which Cicero ſpeaks of to his Friend. And in my Judgment 'tis in this exact Circumſpection, and in this admirable Caution and Reſervation that we ſhall find the true Character of *Virgil* to conſiſt, who ſlightly paſſes over things as a Traveller in haſte, without inſiſting too long on Particulars. He generously prunes and cuts off all Superfluities, that he may retain only what is purely neceſſary. And in this conſiſts the Excellency of a Work, which is never more perfect, than when there cannot be any thing cut off from it.

In this Perfection conſiſted likewise all that exquisite good Senſe which flouriſh'd at *Rome* under the Reign of *Augustus*, and which was the diſtinguiſhing Character of all the great Wits that then writ, whom we look upon as the only Models of the Purity of the Language, and of that admirable way of Writing, which is now ſo much in Vogue amongſt us.

Of this we have an Inſtance in thoſe Orders which *Augustus* gave *Tucca* and *Varius*, to take a Review of the *Æneid*, which the Author in his Will wou'd have had ſuppreſs'd, as not thinking it a compleat Poem. The Emperor gave them leave to cut off thoſe Parts that might be taken away without doing Injury to the whole, but expreſſy commanded them not to add in the leaſt, nay, not ſo much as to fill up the Verſes that were imperfect. 'Twas the Humour of that happy Age, to trench what they cou'd in their Compoſitions, to be ſparing and frugal in their Expreſſions, and to ſpeak but little. *Lucretius*, who was ſo Pure and ſo Polite, had not yet arriv'd to this Perfection. And *Catullus*, who was the firſt amongſt the *Romans*, that be-

Homer and Virgil.

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gan to give a fine Turn to the Language, to improve and heighten it with the Advantages of Elegancy and Beauty, had not as yet learnt that great Precept, which *Horace* had since so much inculcated to his *Pisones*.

Prudens versus reprehendit inertes.

Hor. Ar. Poet.

*The prudent Care of an Impartial Friend
Will give you Notice of each idle Line.*

E. of Roscommon.

—— *Ambitiosa recidet
Ornamenta.*

Hor. Ar. Poet.

Or where is he too lavishly bestow'd.

E. of Roscommon.

—— *Ut currat sententia, non se
Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures.*

Hor. Sat. x. L. i.

*Yet this I grant, a sort of Excellency:
He must be short, nor must he clog his Sense
With useless Words, or make his Periods long;
They must be smooth, and so glide o'er the Tongue.*

Mr. Creech.

*Deterret sibi multa, reciderit omne quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur.*

Hor. Sat. x. L. i.

*He wou'd correct, he wou'd retrench his Sense,
And pare off all that was not Excellence.*

Mr. Creech.

Nor

Ηρακλῆς
πικ.

Nor does he add any thing more in his Satyr upon *Lucilius* : And a little afterwards speaking of the same *Lucilius*, he says, That had he flourish'd in his time, he wou'd have known how to have Contracted himself, and without doubt wou'd have eras'd a great many Things out of his Verses. This was their Way in those times, which they had learn'd from the Dictates of good Sense, which was then Triumphant. This was the Method *Virgil* has so well observ'd, and which makes up his Essential Character; whereas that of *Homer* consists in a prolix and tedious manner of Speaking and Relating Things. He is the greatest Talker of all Antiquity; insomuch that the *Greeks* themselves, though chargeable with excessive Discoursing above all others, have reprehended *Homer* for that Intemperance of Words, as a considerable Miscarriage in Discourse. He is ever upon his Rehearsals, and not only of the same Words, but of the same Things too, and so is in a perpetual Circle of Repetitions. It is true indeed, that he always speaks Naturally enough, but then he always speaks too much. The Adventures of *Ulysses* in *Ægypt*, which he himself relates to the good Man *Eumæus* his Hog-driver, are truly idle impertinent Stories purely for Amusement. There is no Thread in his Discourse, nor does it seem to tend to any propos'd End, but exceeds all manner of Bounds. That vast Fluency of Speech, and those mighty Overflowings of Fancy, which are so common with *Homer*, make him carry things far beyond the Mark they shou'd have been levell'd at, and from thence it is that the Draughts he has given us of Things, are for the most part too Accurate; so that he leaves nothing to be perform'd by the Imagination of the Reader, who

for his own private Pleasure and Satisfaction, ought regularly to be as much taken up with what he himself thinks upon the Subject, as with what he reads upon it in others.

Upon this Account it is that *Virgil* never unravels the whole Matter, but leaves it to the Reflections of those that read him. Young Authors that are impertinent and affected, and that are carried away with a Flood of Words, and all those that have less Judgment than Fancy, cannot comprehend this Maxim. Because, for want of Experience, they follow the Natural Bent of their Inclinations; and, as through an excessive Desire of talking much, they carry Things beyond their proper Bounds, so they commonly present us with *Ideas* for true Objects, by making too accurate Representations of all the Matter they take in Hand. This is an Imperfection, which *Apelles* discover'd in the Painters of his Time, as *Cicero* observes. But we must remember that this is a Defect in reference only to the Expression. For it is a very great Excellency that any one can be Master of, to give the most compleat Images he can of Things, and always to raise his Superstructures upon the Ground-work of the greatest *Ideas*.

*Pictores
eos errare
dicebat, quos
non senti-
rent quid
esset satis.
Orat.*

C H A P. XII.

Of the Unity of the Time of the two Poems.

IT must be acknowledg'd, that there cannot be any thing said more to the Advantage of *Homer*, than what *Aristotle*, the Wisest and

Chap. 9.

and most judicious of all the Criticks, has said of him. He proposes him in his Poetry as the true Model of an *Epick* Poem, and Forms all his Precepts from the *Iliad*, and from the *Odyssey*. But on the other side, considering that *Aristotle* never met with in all his time, but only two very wretched Poems; one upon *Hercules*, and the other upon *Theseus*; both which he speaks of in his Poetry: Considering, I say, that he never saw any thing of that Nature, that could by any Means come in competition with the *Iliad*, or the *Odyssey*, it is not much to be wonder'd at, that he takes these for a Model, the two others, being rather the Lives of *Hercules* and *Theseus*, than the proper Subjects of an *Epick* Action.

And 'twas this made *Horace* inveigh with so much Vehemency against those Poets he call *Cyclic*, by reason of the purely Natural and Historical Representation they gave of Things, by multiplying Matters directly contrary to the Simplicity and Unity of Action, which is so Essential to the *Epopæa*. And upon this score we are now to Examine the Unity of the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, that nothing may be omitted, that is requisite to a just and exact Comparison.

I acknowledge, that as to the Unity of Time, the *Iliad* and the *Odessey*, have the Preference before the *Æneid*. For the Action of the *Odyssey*, from *Ulysses* his leaving *Calypso*, to his being discover'd, lasts but Five and forty Days; and the Action of the *Iliad* is but Eight or Nine Months Duration at most; whereas the *Æneid* takes up a whole Year or more.

Nay, some pretend, that the Unity of Action is more perfect in the two Poems of *Homer*, than it is in that of *Virgil*, in as much as the Action

Action of both of them, is not only one and the same, but also of one single Person. For *Achilles* does all things himself alone; and the same is said of *Ulysses*, who, as *Aristotle* affirms, re-establishes himself without the Assistance of any other, which seems to argue something of Greatness. *Aeneas* does nothing without the help of his Companions, which is not so much to be wonder'd at. And *Paul Beni* observes, in the second of his *Academical Discourses*, that the Apologist of *Dante* pretends, that his Poem is a perfect Piece, because it is the Action but of one single Person: *Costui Poëma oltra esser Heroico e fatto anco di attione, di uno assolutamente solo. E ciò ad essemplio, non già de l' Eneide, ove con essecrito opera Enea: ma ben dell' Iliade e Odissea: Dove al fin e Achille e Ulisse solo fa Heroiche imprese: perciò conclude che il Poema di Dante si a eccellentemente maraviglioso e illustre.* This Poem, besides that 'tis an Heroick one, is also compos'd of Action, and that of one single Person only. And this, according to the Example, not only of the *Aeneid*, wherein *Aeneas* Acts with an Army, but likewise of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, where *Achilles* and *Ulysses* perform alone all the Heroick Actions: whence he concludes, that *Dante's Poem* is excellently Wonderful and Illustrious.

To this it may be answer'd, that the Unity of the Person is sufficiently preserv'd by that of his Character and Condition; and that an Epick Poem ought to present us with the perfect Idea of a great Commander and General of an Army, and not of a Knight-Errant, who commonly is no more than a meer Phantasm, and a Romantick Palladine: And that it frames a greater Character of a Heroe, and gives him a better Air of Dignity and Grandeur; it makes him a Sovereign, and the Head of the

A Comparison of

People, as *Paul Beni* observes in the same Passage : *L' attione Heroica debbe esser una d'un solo: mà porò prencipe & capò da molti* : because, as he says, great Enterprizes, such as the Conquests of Countries and Kingdoms, and such as Sieges and Battels ought to be carried on by Armies, under the sober Conduct and entire Government of one single Person, which is as much as is requir'd for the Unity of Action. Besides, there is always a Defect, as to matter of Probability, in those Actions of Knight Errants, and Solitary Worthies, such as *Hercules* was, which however set off, have too much of the Romance and Fable in them.

Nay, we may further add, that as to the Unity of the Action, so it be rightly taken, we shall find it more perfect in the *Æneid*, than in the *Iliad*, where, after the Death of *Hector*, which ought to have clos'd the Action ; there are still two Books to come, the 23d, which contains the Games that were celebrated for the Death of *Patroclus*, and which contribute nothing to the Principal Action ; and the 24th, which expresses the Grief of the *Trojans*, and gives us an account of the Ransoming of *Hector's* Body, which are Foreign to the Purpose, the Principal Action being perfect without them.

There is still this one fault more to be noted, that a Poem, the Author of which had no other design than to celebrate the Honour of the *Greeks*, should conclude with those Ceremonies that were Perform'd to *Hector*, the chief of their Enemies, where the Poet takes up a whole Book to give us a Description of his Funeral Solemnities. This seems in some manner to be a Defect, and is a proper Instance of what *Horace* hints at in that Passage

sage of his, which so few rightly understand.

— *Amphora cepit*

Instituit, currente Rotâ, cur Urceus exit?

Horat.
Poetic.

When you begin with so much pomp, and show,

Why is the End so little and so low?

E. of Roscommon.

Homer begins the best that can be imagin'd, for the Honour of the Greeks; their Glory is the only thing he pursues throughout the whole Work, and yet ends with that of *Hector*. Could not he have stop'd there, but must proceed to lament the Death of this Great Man, with so much Pomp and Magnificence? Is not this a Mistake, thus to forget the Design he had at first Propos'd to himself? Does not the *Æneid* conclude much better with the Death of *Turmus*, which Period closes the Action. *Virgil* does not carry on things any further, he well knew that he should have been guilty of a Fault, had he not stop'd there.

C H A P. XIII.

A Comparison of the fine and beautiful Passages in these two Authors.

IT now remains, that we make a Comparison of the fine and beautiful Passages in these two Authors: But this is what we have already found to have been a difficult Undertaking in the Comparison of *Demosthenes* and

Cicero; because 'tis no easy matter to give these choice Passages by a bare Translation of them, all that Force and Beauty, by which we may discover the true Value of them; and besides, the Taste and Relish of People differ so very much, that 'twill be hard to agree upon what Passages should be cited from both Authors, in opposition to each other, in order to make a just Comparison.

Quintilian, who always judg'd of *Homer* with excellent Judgment, and with the most exquisite discerning Faculty of a true Critick, has, in the first Chapter of his Tenth Book, made a Collection of those Passages, which are of greatest Credit to the Poet, and add most to his Honour and Glory. He finds this Author admirable in general, upon all occasions of Exhortation, Persuasion and Consolation. The Deputing of *Phœnix* to go and move *Achilles*, in behalf of *Agamemnon*, in the Ninth Book, and all that is said upon that account, seems to him to be very wonderful and surprising. He highly commends the Liveliness and Brevity of that Story of the Death of *Patroclus*; and Quotes several other Passages as you may see in that Chapter, by which he has truly preserv'd the Character of an exact and of a very nice Critick: as the Prayer of King *Priam* to *Achilles*, for the Body of his Son *Hector*, and certain Combats, which he distinguishes from others. That which helps and contributes to the Order and Disposition of the Design in general, is what gives us a great Idea of this Poet. To observe all his Beauties, would require a Description of all his Narrations. For 'tis in these particularly, that he excels and surpasses all other Poets. To give you my own free Thoughts upon the Matter; the

*Quid in
verbis, sen-
tentiis, fi-
guris, di-
spositione
totius ope-
ris? Non-
ne humani
ingenii
modum ex-
cedit?*

the Places that most affect me, are these. The Jealousie rais'd between *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*, upon the account of their Mistress, which causes a Division between the two Generals, and on which the whole Intrigue of the *Iliad* turns, as 'tis represented in the first Book, than which, nothing can be more happily devis'd. The Catalogue of Ships, and Enumeration of the *Grecian* Fleet, in the second Book, carries in it, something that's Great, besides a wonderful Variety, and a thorough Acquaintance with the State of Antient *Greece*, and its People. The Interview between *Hector* and *Andromache* towards the Conclusion of the Sixth Book of the *Iliad*, is one of the most delicate, and most finish'd pieces in *Homer*. Every thing there is moving, soft, and tender, and natural, in what they say one to another, concerning little *Astyanax*, who was at this last Conference. The Fright the Youth is in at the Sight of his Father in Armour, Presents us with an exquisite Scene of Nature. The Encounter between *Hector* and *Ajax*, is describ'd in very bright and lively Colours. The Poet impresses upon his Reader, the very Idea he had himself of these two mighty Champions, in describing their Air and Mien; and raises noble Images of them, only in speaking of their Preparations to the Combat. And through the whole Description, there is secretly diffus'd such a Spirit of the true Sublime, that it fails not to affect the Senses in the highest manner, by Working up this Conflict to those Degrees of Heat, Rage and Terrour, that the two Heroes, having quite exhausted their Spirits, and spent all their Vigour in a mutual Resistance, and at last being separated by the Interposition of the Night, out of a

deep Sense of each other's Bravery and Valour, send Presents to each other, and so wind off their strong Resentments, that were carried on with so much Fury and Animosity, into a stronger Knot of Reciprocal and Inviolable Friendship, from a just Love of, and Veneration for Heroick Virtue. In fine, this whole Piece has nothing in it but what is truly Great and Elevated, nothing but what represents the most Perfect Heroe, every part breathing an Air of Courage and Generosity.

It may be said likewise, that there are few Places comparable to the Entry of the sixteenth Book, where *Patroclus* throws himself at *Achilles* his Feet, endeavouring so to soften the obdurate Heroe with his Tears, as to prevail on him to take up Arms and repulse the *Trojans*, who had forc'd the *Greeks* to their Ships, that were already set on fire. *Achilles*, mov'd with the Tenderneſs of these Tears of his dear *Patroclus*, demands the Reason of them, upbraiding him with Weakneſs and Effeminacy. *Patroclus* points at the Destruction the Fire began to make in the *Grecian* Fleet, and tells him that he was more relentless than a Rock, and that he, that cou'd be a cold and unconcern'd Spectator of his own Men and Ships thus perishing in the Flames, cou'd not have *Peleus* for his Father, or the Goddess *Thetis* for his Mother; but must have been begotten by the Sea, amidst the raging Waves. *Achilles*, upon this Reproach, gives his Armour to *Patroclus*, and puts his Troops under his Command, to go and execute what his Resentments wou'd not suffer him himself to do; and the Result of so Pathetical an Interview, proves of the same Force. Those other Places, *Longinus* gives such high Encomiums of, in his seventh Chapter,

ter of the Sublime, viz. the 20 and 21 Books of the *Iliad*, where the Poet describes the Combats of the Gods in so exalted a Strain, carry in the Expression so much Grandeur and Majesty as is truly Sublime and Magnificent.

But, as I have before observ'd, a Man ought to make an Extract of the whole *Iliad*, to decry all its Beauties; and the same must be done of the *Odyssey* too, which carries in it Graces altogether singular, and not inferior to the very Finest of those in the other Poem. Amongst the Adventures of *Ulysses*, in the ninth Book, (if you'll take the Judgment of *Demetrius Phalareus*) you'll meet with a Piece of Sublime strangely horrible, which is an Original of this Poet's, introduc'd in order to draw the Character of *Polypheme* in a new Set of Colours. This entire *Episode*, together with the Adventures of this Heroe after *Calypso* and *Circe*, is a Piece of exquisite Contrivance.

I shall say nothing of all the Relations *Ulysses* makes to the good Man *Eumeus*, upon his return to *Ithaca*, and of his wonderful Management to Re-establish himself. That whole Story is dress'd up in Colours so decent, and at the same time so Noble, that Antiquity can hardly match any part of the Narration. The Unravelling the whole *Odyssey* by the Death of *Penelope's* Gallants, has something very great and very becoming a Heroe, in the Course and Conduct *Ulysses* takes to defeat them, in order to revenge himself of the Disorders they had brought into his House by their unjust and insolent Proceedings. This is a short Sketch of those Places, where *Homer* has display'd himself to the greatest Advantage. There are an infinite Number of others to be noted, were we to make an exact Scheme. What we have

done, may be sufficient to give Light to those curious Enquiries, that have a mind to find out all his Beauties, and discover all his Excellencies.

I must own, that for the Grandeur and Pomp of his Narrations, *Homer* is incomparable, and that *Virgil* cannot come near him; but it cannot at the same time but be acknowledg'd, that there are Beauties in *Virgil*, by which he has much the Advantage of *Homer*, whose thoughts of things are too Natural. *Virgil* carries it for the Delicacy of his Design, of his *Ideas*, of his Inventions, of his Thoughts, of the whole Catalogue of his Expressions. For to unravel this Point, what can there be imagin'd more Insinuating than the *apothecosis* of *Anchises* in the fifth *Æneid*, by which he so highly Flatters *Augustus* and the *Romans*, and Complements them with an Extraction, the Divinity of which he has himself so ingeniously Establish'd. Not to mention the most Illustrious *Roman* Families, allegorically decipher'd in the Combats describ'd in the same Book, the Mystery and Application of which, *Paul Beni* explains in his Commentaries upon *Virgil*.

What is there to be found in all *Homer* comparable to that Passage, which I have ever look'd upon as of exquisite Delicacy, in the sixth *Æneid*, where *Virgil* is content to allow the *Greeks* the Glory of being a People of great Wit and Ingenuity, reserving to the *Romans* that of Authority and Power?

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Orabunt causas melius, &c.
Tu rugere imperio populos, Romane, memento.*

Others

Others shall best inspire the mimick Brass,
 Or out of Marble carve a living Face:
 Plead with more force and trace the Heavenly
 Describing the wide Empire of the Gods: (Roads,
 The wandering Stars to steady Rules confine,
 And teach expecting Mortals when they'll shine.
 Thee Heaven, brave Roman, Form'd for high Com-
 By these thy Arts, from thy victorious Hand (mand,
 To make glad Nations own their Peace bestow'd,
 To spare the Suppliant, and pull down the Proud.
 Mr. Basil. Kennet.

What shall I say of that With, or rather, of
 that Imprecation of *Dido*?

*Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
 Imprecor.*

In the fourth Book, which produces so admirable an Effect, in order to the War between Rome and Carthage, and that by the Expression of so passionate a Revenge, as is discover'd in the following Verses.

*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor
 Qui face Dardanios ferroq; sequare colonos
 Nunc olim, &c.*

Now and from hence in ev'ry future Age
 When rage excites your Arms, and Strength supplies
 Rise some Avenger of our Lybian Blood, (the Rage
 With Fire and Sword pursue the perjur'd Brood;
 Our Arms, our Seas, our Shores, oppos'd to theirs,
 And the same Hate descend on all our Heirs.

This, in the obscurity of future Events, does with the most lively Colours, Point out to us the Great Hannibal, the most Formidable, and the

the most Illustrious Enemy of the Roman Commonwealth, with whom it was so long Disputing the Empire of the World. This is a Passage of Roman History, so nicely touch'd upon, that there is nothing like it in all that this Poet has writ. The Death of *Marcellus*, in the sixth *Æneid*, is of the same Force, but has something in it more Insinuating, something more Exquisite and Fine, as is evident from the Impression it made upon *Augustus*, and more particularly upon *Octavia* the Mother of that young Prince, who fell in a Sound at the very Recital *Virgil* made of it, in the Emperor's Presence.

Lib. 1.
Cap. 14.

I shall say nothing of all those Complaints of *Dido* in the fourth *Æneid*, which made *St. Augustin* so often Weep, as he himself professes in his *Confessions*. He was far enough from being thus transported with *Homer*, on whom he passed no better a Complement, than to call him *dulcissimè vanus*. In a Word, *Virgil* is much more Solid, and his Expressions make a greater Impression upon his Readers, because they have something in them that is more Real. He does not speak with such an Air of Levity. His very Discourses, even those that express the greatest Tendernefs and Passion, and which in all others, carry along with them certain Marks and Tokens of much Lightnefs, have not any thing in them that is Vain, Frivolous or Chimerical. There is nothing but what has some Foundation or other, and his very Words are so many things, which makes him more Moving and Pathetical.

There are yet a thousand other Passages, which I shall not insist on, as that in the second *Æneid*.

*Iliaci Cineres & flamma extrema meorum,
Testor in occasu vestro nec tela, neq; ullas
Vitavisse vices Danaum.*

*Te Trojan Flames, your Testimony bear
What I perform'd, and what I suffer'd there,
No Sword avoiding in the fatal Strife,
Expos'd to Death, and Prodigal of Life.*

Mr. Dryden.

Which alone destroys all the Objections that may be made against *Æneas*, in point of Valour. As the Death of *Dido*, so pathetically describ'd, the Beginning of which is thus.

*At trepida & captis immanibus effera Dido
Sanguineam volvens aciem, &c.*

*But furious Dido, with dark Thoughts involu'd,
Shook at the mighty Mischief she resolv'd,
With livid Spots distinguish'd was her Face,
Red were her rolling Eyes and discompos'd her Pace,
Ghastly she gaz'd, with Pain she drew her Breath,
And Nature shiver'd at approaching Death.*

Mr. Dryden.

As the Abridgment of the Roman History engrav'd upon the Shield, in the eighth Book; the Explication of the Destinies of the Roman Empire by *Jupiter*, in the first; the Conquests of *Augustus*, to whom he Dedicates his Work, in the sixth; which furnish out a most admirable Panegyrick on that Emperor.

*Hic Vir, hic est tibi quem promitti sæpius audis
Augustus Cæsar.*

Now

A Comparison of

Now fix your sight and stand intent to see
 Your Roman Race, and Julian Progeny.
 The mighty Cæsar waits his vital Hour, (Pow'r.
 Impatient for the World, and grasps his promis'd
 But next, behold the Youth of Form Divine,
 Cæsar himself exalted in his Line;
 Augustus promis'd oft and long foretold,
 Sent to the Real that Saturn rul'd of old;
 Born to restore a better Age of Gold. }

Mr. Dryden.

And all those curious Insinuations, by which he so artfully works himself into the very Soul of his Reader, and inspires into him his own Passions and Affections, which throughout the whole so lively expresses his *Genius*, and are, as so many Miracles of Art, imperceptible to mean Capacities, and not in the least discoverable, but to those that are most intimately Conversant with him. For there is a greater Penetration and Perspicacity of Apprehension requisite to discover what is good and excellent in a Work, than to find out what is defective; because the Deformities of a Piece are generally more remarkable and conspicuous than the true and real Beauties of it, which easily elude the Eye, especially of those, whose Apprehension is but dull and stupid, and are known only to such as are of a more enlightened Understanding, of more rais'd and exalted Faculties.

But as the noblest Passage in all *Virgil*, and his real Master-piece, is the Passion of *Dido*; I cannot pass it by without a Reflection or two, above what I have made on any of the Rest. Never certainly, did Eloquence employ all its Advantages of Artifice and Ornament in any one work with so much Life and Vigour, and with

with so great Success as in this. All the Degrees of that Passion, and all the Redoublings of that growing Affection, and of that great and known Frailty of the Sex, are there discover'd in such a Manner, as raises the Admiration even of the best Judges; and truly, the better able they are to judge in these Cases, the more will they be dispos'd to understand the Excellency of that Passage, and to admire all the Parts of it. All is tender, delicate and passionate in the Description of that Adventure, and the World is not likely ever to see any that shall exceed it.

Tasso perhaps may have some Passages that are more brilliant, as that of the Adventure of *Tancrede* and *Clorinda*; but if we take a View of him on all sides, we shall find that all the Proportions and Correspondencies with the Principal Action do not seem to be so exactly observ'd there, as they are in that of *Dido*.

There is one thing, notwithstanding, all this that is observ'd by some in Prejudice of *Virgil*, and by way of Reproach; which is, that he has done great Dishonour to that Princess by representing her under the Hurry and Violence of a Passion, that was so inconsistent with her true Character: For History makes her a Lady of very good Repute. But this is an Artifice the most Subtle and the Nicest of any to be met with in *Virgil*, who to bring into contempt a Nation, that was afterwards to become so odious and detestable to the *Romans*, conceiv'd himself oblig'd not to celebrate any Virtue in her, who was the Founder of it; imagining that he might with great Security sacrifice her the better to flatter his own Country, which no doubt wou'd have been shock'd at the Character History gave of that Princess. And as
this

this Contrivance was carried on only to cajole the *Romans*; yet, though the Poet look'd upon them as Masters of the World, with whose Sentiments all other Nations ought to comply, or at least to conform to; he thought himself oblig'd to use all imaginable Precaution, to prepossess their Minds, upon thus disguising the Truth. In order to this, he cunningly brings the Gods into the Plot, and by the Interposition of a Machine or two, puts a better Gloss upon Sacrificing the Princess. *Venus* and *Cupid*, engage in the Design. Nay, he makes them use all their Art to stifle whatever Good common Fame had said of that Queen. This is the Subject of *Juno's* Complaint to *Venus*, which serves only to show us what mighty Application those two Deities us'd to surprize, and at last reduce so virtuous a Dame.

*Egregiam verò laudem & spolia ampla refertis
Tuq; puerq; tuus, &c.*

*High Praises, endless Honours you have won,
And mighty Trophies with your worthy Son.*

Mr. Dryden.

The Characters of *Sinon* in the Second *Æneid*, and that of *Mezentius* in the Eighth and Tenth, are likewise most accomplish'd Pieces. *Homer* has indeed more of that kind, and a greater Variety of them; but those, in which *Virgil* has given us the nicest Touches of his Art, are more finish'd Draughts than those of *Homer*. He is more Mysterious, and has more Design in him, and is an entire Master of that secret Art of Expressing things well.

It must however be acknowledg'd, that *Homer* has a richer stock of Invention, more
Sprite-

Spritelines, and a finer Turn, and a more delightful Form of Verse; that he has a more sparkling and brilliant Air of Expression, and that his Words are more resounding, his Periods rounder, and more proper and suitable for Poësie, and such as better fill the Ear; for a Defect of which Cicero found fault with Demosthenes. Upon this Account, indeed, Homer is far beyond Virgil, and the Ear is much better pleas'd with the Harmony and Numbers, and with the whole Cadency of his Verse, because the Greek Tongue has all those Advantages of the Latin, which is more Reserv'd, and more upon the Restraint, and which too is more Grave and Serious. True it is: I must confess, that he has a greater Extent of Matter, and affords his Reader a larger Prospect; but yet, his Fancy often hurries him from one place to another; he is not so entirely Master of it, as Virgil is of his. 'Twas the want of this good Conduct that made him commit so essential a Fault, as that, of adding the two Books of the *Iliad* after the Close of the Action, one of the Death of *Hector*, the other of the Games celebrated in Honour of *Patroclus*; and of adding likewise one after that of the *Odyssey*, which is the mutual Discovery of *Ulysses* and *Penelope* to each other. For as every Poem, as well *Epick* as *Dramatick*, ought to have its Period with that of the Principal Action, so after the Close of that, which ought to put an end to all things, there can be no farther Addition without great Extravagance.

I find but few Passages in *Homer*, that may be oppos'd to those of *Virgil*. Yet I cannot forbear, being very much enravish'd with that in the Sixth Book of the *Iliad*, where *Andromache*, who was so Chast and Virtuous a Woman

*Usque eo
difficiles ac
morosi sumus, ut
nobis non
satis faciat
Ipse Demosthenes, non
semper implet aures
meas ita
sunt avidæ
& capaces
& semper
aliquid
immensum
infini-
tum-
que desiderant. Cic.
in Brut.*

man, bids a final Adieu to *Hector* her Husband who was then entring upon his last Engagement with *Achilles*. In a Word, 'tis utterly impossible to imagine, that there can be any thing that can shew greater Tenderness than the Circumstances of this last Adieu, at which, under an apprehension of something Disastrous, she lets fall a Tear, a thing unusual to her who was a Lady not subject to the least Weakness: And the Poet says, what is indeed delicately Fine, that *she began to lament with her Women, the death of Hector who was yet alive.*

Ἐν ζῶντι ὄντι ἔκτορα.

'Tis true, that whereas People generally bewail the Death of those Persons only that are really dead, but she the Death of one that was then actually alive; this Expression, has all the Tenderness in it that can be well imagin'd. The Entertainment that *Alcinous* gave *Ulysses* is better manag'd, and is a more splendid Treat, than that *Dido* gave *Aeneas*. At *Alcinous* his Entertainment, they sing the Amours of *Mars* and *Venus*; but at *Dido's*, as more agreeable and suitable to the growing Passion, and succeeded Adventures of that Queen, *Jopas* Celebrates on his tuneful Harp, the Courses of the Stars. After all, though the Expressions in *Homer* are always full of Life and Vigour, yet the things he says are Languid and Faint. His *Proteus*, in the Fourth *Odyssy*, is more Ingenious and fuller of Invention, than that of *Virgil* in his Fourth *Georgick*, though the latter is more Judicious. The Oath of *Calypso* in the Fifth *Odyssy*, is Great and Sublime; but the Probability is very ill observ'd in relation to that Vessel, which the Poet makes *Ulysses* build

all alone, without any assistance, or without the least Experience, in the Island *Calypso*, detain'd him in, and all this within the compass of four or five Hours, and in a Vessel too, in which there was nothing in the least defective. To me the Transformation of *Æneas* his Ships into so many Sea-Nymphs, as it is describ'd in the 10 *Æneid*, seems to have but very little Probability in it, but I appeal to better Judges. The Repetitions of the Number of the *Grecian* Fleet, are too frequent; every Squadron, for the most part, terminates in one and the same Verse;

Μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο.

and all the Entertainments that are made in the *Iliad*, are every one after the same manner, without the least Variety.

And in truth, *Ulysses* his Discovery of himself to his Wife *Penelope*, which was the most favourable Passage that could be, for the Poet to give us some of the nicest Touches of his Art, seems flat and dull. It has nothing but faint and weak Surprizes, cold and languishing Astonishments, and very little of that Delicacy and Exquifiteness, which ought to express a real Tendernefs. *Penelope* is too long Obstinate, in Opposing the Reasons that are allieg'd to persuade her that he is her Husband, who contributes not the least himself towards his own Discovery. He leaves his Wife too long in doubt and distrust, she is too cautious and circumspect; the Formalities she observes in being thoroughly assur'd, and with Security, are there set down in Number and Measure, lest there should be any Mistake committed, which to me has something that is dull and

O

heavy,

A Comparison of

heavy in a place which requir'd so much Briskness and Liveliness. Ought not the secret Instinct of her Love to have inspir'd her with other Thoughts, and ought not her Heart to have told her, what her Eyes did not? For Love in penetrating, and being furround-ed with Rays of Light, pierces thorough all; it has a small still Voice, which Whispers more to us, than the Senses can convey. But *Homer* understood not this Philosophy, which the *Italians* have since so much taught: and *Virgil*, who makes *Dido* foresee the Design *Aeneas* had of leaving her, before she had Intelligence brought her of it, would have made better Advantage of that Occasion.

It must however, be acknowledg'd, with *Longinus*, that there can be nothing, that can be conceiv'd, to be more Exalted, and more Sublime, than what *Ajax* says, when abandon'd to Despair, as he was: When he requests of *Jupiter*, upon an Engagement, in which the *Greeks* had the disadvantage, by Reason of the dark Night, that he might not fall in Obscurity, and in the dead of Night, but Breath his last with the Morning Light. It cannot be denied, but that *Homer* is as Exalted in his Thoughts as in his Expressions; and 'tis on this account, that *Longinus* always proposes him as the most accomplish'd Character of the true Sublime. The Silence of *Ajax*, as to meeting *Ulysses* in Hell, in the Eleventh *Odyssey*, is of this Nature, it is more expressive, than all that could possibly have been said on that occasion. And this great Man, of a Character fierce and untractable, as *Homer* has drawn him, could not have made a better Return to those Compliments full of Submission, which *Ulysses* paid him, than by a disdainful
and

and contemptuous Silence. *Ajax* has more the Air of Grandeur and Majesty when he says nothing, than when the Poet makes him speak.

C H A P. XIV.

That Homer is more Moral and Sententious than Virgil.

THIS is an Advantage too, we must not dispute with *Homer*, for it is so apparently on his side, that *Macrobius* in the sixth Chapter of the Fifth Book of his *Questions*, says, that *Homer* has stufft his Poems with Sentences, and that his good Sayings pass for Proverbs all the World over. And one of our own Nation hath lately oblig'd the World with a considerable Volume of Sentences, collated out of *Homer* upon all Moral Subjects, which he has reduc'd into common places.

Homerus omnem Poesein suam ita sententiis farcit, ut singula Ejus Apophthegmata vicem proverbiorum in civium ore fungantur.

But however, I dare affirm, with *Heinsius*, in his Poetical Treatise upon *Aristotle*, that these Sententious Reflections of Morality are more proper for the Theatre, and are rather of the Dramatick kind, than of the Heroick; the Essential Character of which is *Narration*, which ought to be one continued Thread of Discourse, Natural and Simple, without the least Affectation of Figures, and without all that Magazine of Reflections, which deprive the whole of its true Colour and Force: a Fault which that excellent Critick, the Author of the *Satyricon*, finds in the Declaimers of his Time. By your Discourses, that are made up of

Inanibus sonis ludibria quædam excitando efficitis, ut corpus orationis enervaretur, & caderet.

nothing but Words of empty Sounds; that consist only in jingling Sentences, and rumbling Periods, you have enervated the Body of the Oration, and brought it to the Ground.

Sententias interponi raro convenit ut rei Actores non vivendi præceptores esse videamur.
Ad Heren.
lib. 4.

In a word, all that Energy, which some pretend commonly to Collect together, and to inclose within a small compass of Words, in order to make up a Sentence, is wont extremely to weaken the rest of the Discourse, by Robbing it of its Natural Simplicity, and giving it a forc'd Air. For this Reason it is, that *Livy* is a more compleat Historian than *Tacitus*, for he has fewer Reflections, which are things more proper for the *Theatre*, than for *History* and *Narration*. *Cicero* is of the same Opinion, in one of the Books of his *Rhetorick*. So that Sentences and Moral Reflections are Beauties, not agreeable in an *Epick* Poem, because disproportion'd to *Narration*, the Principal and Essential Character of it. However, the Poet may intermix some Sentences or Reflections, when he makes the Actors themselves, whom he introduces, speak; but he ought not to do this when he speaks himself; and if it be upon any account allowable, it must be but very seldom, and then too, it must not seem to have been aim'd at.

As to this, we may securely imitate *Livy*, who in the Body of his History, inserts but a very few of this Nature, but reserves them to be said by those whom he makes speak. So that the Poet is to let 'em pass by without affecting to be himself the Utterer of them, much less to disperse and scatter them up and down as *Homer* does: and it is a great Mistake in any one, to value him purely on this account

count, because this Affectation is certainly an Imperfection, which *Virgil* found out a way to avoid. For he well consider'd, that there was nothing that could be more directly contrary to that Unity and Simplicity he had made such profession of, than those glittering Words and Thoughts, which seem independent of the Discourse, and as it were Jetting out of the Structure, as not bearing a Proportion to the whole; and serving only to magnifie the Objects, and make 'em look more Enormous; and rendring the Sentences more Sonorous.

Rerum tumore, & sententiarum vanissimis preceptu.

And this has some reference to that grand Precept of Natural Reason, which one of the most expert, and most refin'd Criticks of all Antiquity, gave heretofore to those that made it their business to write, and which is not, to this very Day, rightly understood. I forbear to Translate it, that all may be at liberty to render it according to their own private Sense of it. It is enough for me, and a sufficient Confirmation of what I am insisting on, that it appears, that this Author in the Passage we have cited, condemns those Thoughts which too strong and too brisk an Expression, renders in some sort disproportionable to the Body of the Discourse. He would have nothing over exquisite, or too far fetch'd, but that all its Lustre be as Natural as Colours in our Habits. And 'tis this sort of plain and common Words, says he, that Natural Reason and good Sense, did dictate to *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and which they themselves found most proper to make use of, long before it was thought adviseable to shut up the Youth in Schools, and confine all the Exercises of the Mind to pure Declamations. In a word, all these Ornaments of Words and Thoughts,

Curandum ne Sententia eminent extra Corpus Orationis expressa, sed in textu vestibus colore nitent. Satyr.

Nondum Juvenes declamationibus continebantur, cum Sophocles & Euripides invenerunt verba quibus deberent loqui.

*Gravitas
mionuitur
exornatio-
nibus fre-
quenter
collocatis,
quod est in
his lepos
& festivi-
tas, non
dignitas
neque pul-
chritudo.
Cic. ad
Heren. l. 4.
Quod est
nimium
offendit
vehementi-
tius, quam
quod est
parum.
Cic. Orat.*

which are so far fetch'd, and so frequent, de-
spoil the Discourse of its Natural Beauty, and
true Dignity. And this is an Universal Princi-
ple for all those things, the Grandeur of which,
join'd with a Regular Simplicity, makes up all
the Excellence and Perfection they are remar-
kable for : As we may see in Painting and Ar-
chitecture, where great Contrivances and good
Fancies, are not so well express'd by the Num-
ber and Variety of Ornaments, as by a plain
Uniform, and regular Position, which gives
each Design its true Grandeur and Majesty.

These very Thoughts, which are so much up-
on the Wing, and which we call fine and deli-
cate Fancies, become insupportable in any Dis-
course, unless manag'd with some Moderation.
Nothing tires so much as great Objects, which
are too resplendent, and bear not the least pro-
portion with the Faculties of our Souls, which
grow languid upon a view of any thing that is
unnatural, as our Eyes are weaken'd by too
great a Light ; for these Faculties are limited
and confin'd within certain bounds.

CHAP. XV.

*After what Manner, and in what Re-
spects, Homer has the Glory of
Invention above Virgil.*

Invention, which is one of the most Essential
Qualities of a Poet, is in the Number of
those Advantages, upon the Score of which,
Homer

Homer deserves the preference to *Virgil*. For he is the Model and Original by which *Virgil* form'd his whole Design. But we are to observe, that, as *Aristotle* in his *Poetry* makes mention of a little *Iliad*, which *Suidas* ascribes to one, nam'd *Antimachus*, and which was the Abridgment of a greater, and from which there is some probability, that *Homer* fram'd his; it may be conjectur'd from thence, that the Glory of Invention was not wholly due to him.

Besides, we read in *Athenaeus*, in his third Book, that one *Hegefanax* had wrote in Verse long before *Homer*, what had pass'd at the Siege of *Troy*. *Cicero* likewise makes mention of one, nam'd *Calisthenes*, who had wrote upon the same Subject. 'Tis true, thrt he liv'd in the time of *Alexander*, which was some Ages after *Homer*, but it is to be believ'd, that he had different Collections from those of *Homer*, because he has given a quite different Account of that Expedition, from that which *Homer* has oblig'd the World with.

Suidas tells us, that *Corinnus*, a Disciple of *Palamedes*, had also written an *Iliad* in Verse, about the time that *Troy* was taken; and that another Poet, nam'd *Syagrus* cotemporary with *Homer*, had likewise wrote on the same occasion; and that all these Works were by *Homer's* means suppress'd, who was not so Blind, some have imagin'd, but that he took care to transmit down to Posterity, his own Labours by themselves, entire and alone, that so he might pass for the first Author of the *Iliad*. And as he had others for his Model, as *Virgil* had him, so it were much to be wish'd, that it were in our Power to know, whether he has been as happy in imitating others, as *Virgil* has been in imitating him.

Lib. 13. c.
14. Hist.
Nat.

But it will be a great Diminution of that Esteem, which in all Antiquity has had for *Homer*, if we give Credit to what *Ælian* says, in his History. He pretends, that it was the Opinion of the Learned, in his Time, that *Homer* made the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, only by pieces, and at Starts, not proposing to himself any continued Design, and that he had given no other Title to those several Parts he had compos'd without any Order, in the Heat of his Fancy, and the Impetuosity of his Genius, than that of the Subject Matter he treated of; as, *The Valour and Prowess of Agamemnon*; *The Games instituted for the Funeral Solemnity of Patroclus*; *The Engagement near the Ships, and their Number*, and so of the rest; that he had likewise done the same for the *Odyssey*: that *Lycurgus* was the first that brought from *Ionia* to *Athens*, those several parts distinct from, and independent of one another, without the least Connexion, or Coherence, and that *Pisistratus* was the Person that put them into Form and Method, and of them made up the two Poems of the *Iliad*, and of the *Odyssey*, which we now have. And from hence, as some would have it, is deriv'd the Name of *Rhapsodies*, which hath since been given to these two Poems.

But I cannot by any means persuade my self to assent to this Story; for it were effectually to rob *Homer* of his greatest Glory, to deny, that he himself put his own Poem into that Order it is now in, or that he form'd the Design with that Unity and Continuation we observe in it now. This is a Weakness, with which we can by no means charge this great Man; especially considering, that *Aristotle* hath stamp'd an Authority on that Belief, which has

has been since establish'd in all Ages ; to wit, that he is the true and genuine Author of those Poems, tho' *Josephus*, in his first Book against *Appion*, seems to be of the same Opinion with *Ælian* ; and *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Lycurgus*, and *Cicero*, in his third Book *de Oratore*, gives us some ground indeed, not to dissent from them. But this is an Opinion that would so highly contribute to the absolute Destruction of *Homer's* Merit, that it were better to suffer *Ælian*, to lie under the Infamy of being a Collector of trivial and Impertinent Stories. As for the other three, who countenance this Opinion, as they do not peremptorily affirm it, so we may without any prejudice to them, adhere to that which is more common, and be favourable to the Reputation of *Homer*, which as to this Point, is too firmly establish'd to admit of any Contest.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Exordiums of the Poems of Homer and Virgil.

IT were to be wish'd, in order to a fuller Satisfaction from an exact Comparison of these two great Men, that there were a Parallel drawn between the Beginnings of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*, and between the Beginnings of the *Odyssey* and of the *Æneid*, which are the first strokes towards the Execution of those excellent Poems. For tho' the Beginnings of great Works, according to *Cicero's* Advice, ought to be Modest, and not too Exalted ; and tho' *Horace* finds

*Principia
verecunda,
non elatis
intensa
verbis.*
Orat.

A Comparison of

finds great fault with him, who begins with so much Pomp and Ostentation, with such an Air of Loftiness and Sublimity.

Fortunam Priami cantabo, &c.

Troys Famous War, and Priam's Fate I sing.
E. of Roscommon.

yet it were not amiss to Start fair, and begin well. The *Exordium* of the *Iliad*, as I find it translated by an unknown Author of Antient Date, runs thus,

Ἄντρε δὲ ἐλώεα τεύχε.

*I Thee beseech, O Goddess mild,
The Hateful Hate to plain,
Whereby Achilles was so wrong,
And grew in such Disdain;
That Thousands of the Greekish Dukes,
In hard and heavy plight,
To Pluto's Court did yield their Souls,
And Gaping, lay upright.
The senseless Trunks of Burial void,
By them'erst gayly born
By ravening Curs, and carrion Fowls,
In pieces to be torn.*

He seems to take a pleasure in aggravating the Heroe's Anger, by its Causes and Effects; he drives on things with too furious, too violent, and in some manner, with too Hyperbolic an Expression for a Beginning: That *Anger*, says he, *that made such a Bloody Slaughter amongst the Bodies of the Heroes*, for so *Didymus*, one of his most exact Interpreters explains him. He does not consider that it is the Heroe, of whom
he

he speaks, and whose Passion he aggravates, and that he labours for Words extraordinary, to express the Distraction it made in the Army, of which this enrag'd Chief was General. He might have said things more in general, in a Proposition that ought to be Simple and Uncompounded, and there was no necessity of running it over again; he had said enough in calling that Passion *Pernicious*. There is a certain Affectation in so often repeating it, and he takes a sort of Pleasure in amplifying, what he ought rather to have conceal'd, or at least alleviated. He carries things still farther, in saying, that *that implacable Wrath made the Bodies of those Heroes a Prey to Dogs and Birds*. Nay, so mightily was he Possess'd with that Spirit of Exaggeration, so mightily was he given to aggravate, that it hurried him to that Extremity of Presumption, that he dar'd to Impose upon the whole World; for amongst the number of all those Heroes, whom he says the Wrath of *Achilles* brought to Destruction, we cannot in Reason allow any but *Patroclus*, and some few others that were worthy of that Name. And I much question, whether amongst the many others, that perish'd, there were any that deserv'd it, or had the least title to it. A Man should never descend to that Particularity in a Proposition intermix'd, without an Invocation: But what this Poet adds, compleats his Miscarriage, and makes an enormous Contrariety.

Δίος δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.

It was the will of Jupiter it should be so. He forgets that he is speaking to his Muse, which is her self a Goddess, and that knows all things, and

and ought not ever to have forgot any thing. He pretends to inform her, that it was the Will of *Jupiter*, that things should happen thus. It was the part of *Homer's* Muse to acquaint him with the Secrets of the Divine Will, and what passes in the Order of its Decrees, and not *Homer's*, to tell this to his Muse, that was the Daughter of *Mnemosyne* and *Jupiter*, that is, of the Understanding and Memory. It is yet much more strange, that he should add those Words, purely to amplify the Excess of that Destruction, which the Wrath of his enraged Heroe had wrought amongst the *Greeks*, since it had oblig'd even the Gods, to concern themselves in the Resentment of the Passion, and that it was their Will and Pleasure, it should prove so fatal to all the Persons of any considerable Character in that Army. And it is no less than to carry on the dismal Effects of that Wrath, to the utmost Extremities, to authorize the Ruine of the *Grecian* Army, by the Will of the Gods; the Loss of which was only footh, the fulfillings of the good Pleasure of *Jupiter*, whereas his Character, on the contrary, entirely consists, in showing Kindness, and doing Acts of Mercy, for on these Benign Offices, is Founded his very Name, which is the same as *Juvans Pater*.

It would be a difficult Matter to fix, where this Invocation ends: The two following Verses are part of it, and it is confounded with the Narration, as we may observe upon a closer View. Besides, to confess the Truth, whatever Construction you put upon, or whatever Turn you give those Words, they will still seem somewhat affected. He seems to have a great desire to be very early upon his Morality, when he begins with it so soon as at the very

very Entrance of a Work, which is not it self Moral, and that in the fourth Verse. The Reader's Mind, is not as yet prepar'd for Reflections. It ought to have been instructed, predispos'd, and a little inflam'd before-hand.

The *Exordium* of the *Odyssey* is thus, nor do I know whether it appear more Rational than that of the *Æneid*.

*Muse, speak the Man, who since the Siege of Troy,
So many Towns, such change of Manners saw,*
E. of Roscommon.

And admirable Heroe, whose Essential Character is Subtlety and Craft. The Commentators interpret the Signification of this πολυτροπον ἀνδρα very much in favour of *Homer*, by taking all the Craft and Subtlety of the Heroe for Prudence and Wise Management. But, I do not see how we can allow of this Exposition; this is indeed a Sweetning of the Expression, but by no means to be admitted; besides that throughout the whole Story, the Conduct of *Ulysses* bears no other Quality in particular than that of Craft, which is carried on by Impostures and Illusions; Proceedings, very inconsistent with the Character of a Heroe: And *Minerva* herself, though strongly engag'd in his Interest, cannot forbear reproaching him on this Account.

And if it be pretended that this Craft is a Dexterity and Readiness of Wit, why does he not make use of it for the Preservation of his Companions, but employs it all for his own private Security? *But they all perish'd through their own Faults.* Ought not this Heroe, a Person of so much Wisdom, and of such extraordinary Prudence, to have been Master of that
little

A Comparison of

little Conduct, as to secure them from that Misfortune? Nay, the Reason why they were destroy'd, is very ridiculous; *They were destroy'd, for having eaten the Oxen of the Sun.* This is certainly a far-fetch'd Destruction; the Heroe or the Poet was willing to be rid of them, and if *Ulysses* his Providence had not been great enough to have sav'd the Companions of his Fortune, ought not the Poet at least to have dissembled it? What cou'd oblige him, I wonder, to begin with so dishonourable an Enterprize, to advance the greatest Weakness of his Heroe in the very Frontispiece of his Poem, to set his Miscarriages in the best Light, and to implore his Muse, to Celebrate the Fame of that cunning Heroe who made a Shift to save himself, and suffer'd all those that were with him to be destroy'd? Is there any thing in the World, that less Answers the Character of a Heroe, than this; any thing, that betrays more Weakness, or is more Despicable? *Tasso*, in the Beginning of his Poem, makes a good Advantage of this Fault, in order to perfect the Character of his Heroe, of whom he says:

— *E sotto I santi*
Segni ridusse I suoi compagni erranti.

His Soldiers wild (to Brawls and Mutines Press)
Reduced he to Peace, so Heaven him Blest.
 Fairfax.

The Beginning of the *Æneid* is less Compounded and more Natural, and its Proposition not so clog'd.

Arms and the Man I sing, who forc'd by Fate
And haughty Juno's unrelenting hate;
 Expell'd

*Expell'd and exil'd, left the Trojan Shore,
Long Labours both by Sea and Land he bore,
And in the doubtful War, before he won
The Latine Realm, and built the destin'd Town:
His banish'd Gods restor'd to Rites Divine,
And settled sure Succession in his Line;
From whence the Race of Alban Fathers come,
And the long Glories of Majestick Rome.*

Mr. Dryden.

An Enemy of that Consequence, renders him
the more Considerable.

According to this Method of Comparison, we
may draw a Parallel of all the rest at leisure.

CHAP. XVII.

The Conclusion of this Discourse.

I Leave it to be decided by the Learned, what
Judgment ought to be made of both these
admirable Poets, when they shall have given
themselves the Trouble to be inform'd of the
Truth of these Observations, and shall have
particularly made but this one Reflection; viz.
that all the *Grammarians* who are the true Cri-
ticks by Profession, having not been able to en-
dure the Lustre of *Homer's* Expression, and the
Magnificence of his Verses, which without dis-
pute are more sparkling than those of *Virgil*,
have been so dazzled with the Splendor, that
without searching to the Ground of either Work,
they have given the Preference to *Homer*. But
they all judge as *Grammarians*, without conside-
ring the Observations I have made.

Plutarch

A Comparison of

Plutarch himself in a Discourse he has expressly writ upon *Homer*, expatiates much upon his great Learning, and the Universal Knowledge he had of all the Sciences; and has sufficiently denoted the vast Extent of that great Genius, by the Idea he has given us of his Character, without insisting on what is Essential to the Poem. So that all those Learned Men, that make their Reflections upon the Expression of *Homer*, and fix upon the Exterior part of his Works, are by no means good Judges. To Form a true Judgment of them, they must have a thorough Knowledge of all that is Essential, they must compute all the Proportions, consider whether the Beauties are regularly plac'd, whether the Intertexture of the Probable Part with the Miraculous be judiciously Contriv'd, whether the Licences, which Poësie admits of, are not too much indulg'd, whether all the Decencies as to Thoughts, Words and Actions are exactly observ'd, whether the Expressions are Lively and Passionate, whether every thing keeps its proper Rank and Order, and preserves its true Character, whether good sound Sense and solid Reason influences the Whole, and whether things are all as they ought to be according to that Grand Precept of *Quintilian*. *Nil potest placere quod non decet*. In a Word, they are to give their Opinion of these great Works as they wou'd do of a Palace or any stately Edifice, whose chief Beauties consists in the Proportion there is between the Design in general and its several Parts, and their mutual Correspondence with one another. This is the Method Men of Skill observe, in taking a View of such Noble Structures, without fixing their Minds upon the Exterior Ornaments, which serve only to amuse

amuse and employ the Thoughts of the Ignorant and Unlearn'd.

There is nothing that is to me, I must confess, a greater Argument of *Homer's* Merit, than the constant Endeavours of *Virgil* to imitate him in all things; he seems perfectly to Adore him, by the great Esteem and Value he had for him And all the World knows, that a certain Critick that liv'd in the Time of *Ptolemy*, nam'd *Zoilus*, render'd his Name infamous amongst the Learned, by pretending to Criticize upon *Homer*, and has ever since been look'd upon as a very Contemptible Author, by Men of Letters.

To conclude this Comparifon, there is, among the *Cataleſts* of the Ancient Poets, the Fragment of an Epigram, by an uncertain Author, which may aſſiſt us in forming our Judgment, as we ought to do of the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*: By this Fragment we ſhall find that the former is more Ample, more Extenſive, and more Sublime, the latter more Regular and more Accompliſh'd. In this Epigram *Virgil* himſelf ſpeaks, but with all the Modeſty that can be.

*Meonium quiſquis Romanus neſcit Homerum
Me legat, & lectum credat utrumque ſibi.
Illius immenſos miratur Græcia campos,
At minor eſt nobis, ſed benè cultus ager.*

*Whoe're in Rome ne'er heard of Homer's Strain,
In me may find the true Mæonian Vein.
All Greece admires his large extended Fields,
Ours is in Compaſs leſs, but not leſs Treafure yields.*

Leſſer Works are indeed ever more Compleat and Finiſh'd Pieces than great ones, becauſe the Artiſt may beſtow more Time and Leiſure in Poliſhing them.

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But in fine, not to be tedious in insisting any longer on Particulars, which wou'd render this Discourse very disagreeable; and which were we to do, we must borrow our Matter from *Eustathius* and *Servius* the most Celebrated, and most Exact Commentators upon these two great Men. I am persuaded, that without giving a final Decision, a thing I have always avoided; I may be allow'd, according to the Observations I have made, to determine how things shall be divided in this Case, which I presume may be thus. *Homer* has more Spirit, and *Virgil* more Judgment; and shou'd I chuse to have been *Homer*, rather than *Virgil*, I shou'd at the same time, much rather wish to have writ the *Æneid*, than the *Iliad* and *Odysey*.

In this, I have the Approbation of *Propertius*, as appears from what he has said in Favour of *Virgil*, after the most disinterested Manner. For though his Reputation were more firmly establish'd than that of *Virgil*, and though the Jealousie of the Mind, which is the true Self-love, be incomparably greater and more prevalent, than that of the Heart; yet he does not in the least scruple to take off the Crown from his own Head, to place it upon *Virgil's*, and to acknowledge, that all ought to give him place, nay, even *Homer* himself.

*Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii,
Nescio quid majus nascitur Æneide.*

*To Greek and Roman Writers yield, or tell
What mighty Work the Æneid can excel.*

TO
 WILLIAM INGE
 OF
 THORP
 IN
 STAFFORD-SHIRE, Esq;

Dear Sir,

WHAT I here Offer You, I chuse to Pay as an Instance of my Gratitude, and as Part of the Debt I owe to the Honour of your long-continued Friendship and Acquaintance; notwithstanding you might reasonably Demand it on your own Personal Account and Merit; as being able to pass Sentence both on the Author and Translator, and to determine whether the Criticisms are well-grounded, or the Translation just and proper. For you have not fail'd to improve the Talent Nature has given you, by the Advantages of Study and Education; having a Mind Inquisitive and Curious, Penetrating, Solid and Retentive; averse to Sloth, and always Busie and Industrious: So that you brought to the University, a greater Stock of Sense than many Gentlemen carry from it; and built successsfully upon the Grammar-Foundation so well laid by your Excellent Master, a Superstructure of sound, rather than superficial Acquisitions. It was your distinguishing Prudence, forthwith to make

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Choice of the best Company, as well as Books, thereby seasoning your Mind with a true Sense of Learning and good Manners; which thing alone, were there no other Engagements on you, had made you a Friend to the University and the Church, and a worthy Member of both, whilst others, bringing nothing but Ignorance and their hereditary Vices hither, and Conversing with none, but those of the like Stamp and Character, make the Debauchery of the College the chief Topick of their Discourse when they have left it: Those being ever most forward to Revile the Universities, when from them, who in them were their greatest Scandal and Reproach. And now, Sir, though a plentiful Estate calls off some Part of your Thoughts and Time from your Study, yet the choicest of both are still employ'd upon your own Improvement; since you think it no less becoming a Gentleman to enlarge his Mind, than his Fortune, and to have his Head, than his House, richly furnish'd: Upon which Account I shall not pretend by the Present I here make you, to Inform you so much as Divert you, whenever you shall please to allow some of your leisure-Minutes, in comparing the Copy with the Original. But if this Comparison of the two best Historians, and Reflections upon History, shall either Provoke you to take Pen in hand, or assist you hereafter in projecting a Piece of that Nature, I shall merit more of the Publick, than will at first View be discover'd: However it may happen, I shall not fail of my Design, which was my own Satisfaction, in making, tho' a Poor, yet a Real Acknowledgment of the frequent Favours you have conferred on,

S I R,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

Mag. Coll. Oxon.
Apr. 12. 1694.

T. TAILOR.

THE PREFACE.

I Must beg leave to Acquaint the Reader in two or three Words, with the Reason that induc'd me to enter on the Translation of *Rapin*, which probably might seem Unnecessary, since it had been formerly done, and was in the Hands of most People. But understanding it was performed by several Persons, at several Times, and some of it carelessly enough, and, that which was better, out of Print; and being inform'd some Parts of it had not hitherto been Translated, and desir'd to go over with it again, and make it all of a Piece, and of more general Use, I thought my Pains would not be very ill Employ'd, if I Collected the scatter'd Parts of so Excellent a Book, and reduc'd them into a Body: Especially since I might Advantage my self by the Failings and Mistakes of Others, and possibly by imitating what was Good, and avoiding what was Bad in them, make a tolerable Translation. I began with the Author's Treatises upon History, in his *Comparison and Reflections*, upon the Booksellers Information they had not been Attempted before. And because nothing was more seasonable than a Comparison of *Thucydides* and *Livy*, at a Time when the former was Printing in an Excellent Edition at the *Theatre*; nothing being more

The Preface.

necessary to the thorough understanding any Author, than the Reading, together with him, the best Censures and Criticks that have been wrote upon him. But it was a kind of Suprize to me, when I had finish'd the *Reflections*, to find they had been ventur'd on before by one *Davis de Kidwelli*, apprehending it would cost me a fresh Trouble, where I fell in with his Expression, to change my own: But finding the Copy he went by to be the Original rough-cast and incompleat, before the Author had put his last Hand to it; and that we seldom agreed in the way of expressing the same thing, I let Mine pass without any Alteration. I have been told too, by a Gentleman, he thought he had seen the other Part done; but not being able to get a Sight of it, I leave the *Comparison* to take its Chance: If it meets with a kind Reception, the rest shall speedily be publish'd; if not, I am not so great an Enemy to the Bookseller and my self, as to throw my Pains and his Money away to no Purpose. I have only this to add, That I would not be thought, because I have translated the Whole, to believe it all: There are some few Reflections that smell too strong of the *Jesuit*; who, in Favour of his Church, falls into Partiality, whilst he is Declaring against it; but the Instances serve his Purpose, as well as if they were true; and 'tis a Fault which must be pardon'd him, since it cannot be avoided, be the Man never so Learned, without abandoning his Religion.

The AUTHOR'S Preface.

M*Y Design in Comparing these Two Authors, is only to make their Value better known; since I take them to be the most Proper of all others, to form a Man's Sense and Reason, in an Age, where both are better Cultivated and Improv'd, than in any other. Wherein this may be said to the Commendation of our own Times, That we understand the Character of Antient Authors better, and are more intimately Acquainted with their Mind and Meaning than our Predecessors.*

The Difference between them and us is this, That greater Pretensions were made to Learning in their Age, than ours. This was formerly so much in Fashion, that Elizabeth Queen of England Translated several of Sophocles's Tragedies; and Mary Stuart the Queen Dauphine, recited at the Louvre, in the great Guard-Hall, before the whole Court, a Latine Oration of her own making; and the Chancellor of the Hospital, in the Reign of Charles the Ninth, was as well skill'd in Languages as a Professor of the College-Royal. 'Twas the Genius of those Times, in which nothing was so much in Vogue, as a great Capacity and profound Reading: The Tongues were thoroughly studied, and Men betook themselves to reform the Text of Ancient Authors, by far fetch'd Interpretations; to subtilize upon an Equivocal Term, and to found a Conjecture for the establishing a Correction. In short, they scrupulously adher'd to the Literal Sense, because they were not able to reach the Spirit of the Author, and his Meaning; which now a-days is done, Men being become more Rational, and less

Learn'd; and greater account is made of good Sense, in the greatest Simplicity, than of an aukward and perverse Capacity of Mind.

Hereby it is we are arriv'd to a greater Intimacy with the Sentiments of the Ancients, and a more thorough Knowledge of their Writings: Which is so true, that all Men, never so little Impartial, must agree to it; and I may say without Vanity, I give a better Idea of the Spirit of Livy, for Instance, in this little Piece I have drawn, than Gronovius has done in his last Edition, printed at Amsterdam in the Year 1665; which contains a long and exact History of the Manuscripts of the Historian, of the Editions put forth from time to time, and of a Catalogue of those Men who have endeavour'd, by their Notes or Corrections, by their Reflections or Criticisms, to re-establish or augment them. There is not to be found in all the Assistances he affords us, for the understanding of this Historian, nor in all his other Commentators, so exact a Knowledge of his Character, as that which I give in this Volume, as little as it is. At least, I shall not spoil the fine Relish the World begins to have of good Sense, upon Reason's displaying it self to the Learned, in all the Extent of Solidity and Delicacy; which is so thoroughly settled in the Minds of Men at this Day, that in all the Works recommended to us by the Merit of their Antiquity, the Preference is without Scruple given to a Man of good Sense, and little Learning, before a Man of Learning of an injudicious Character.

I am fearful however of discouraging those who have no Genius for Writing, by desiring to encourage those that have. For whatever Rules may be given for History, none can be prescrib'd more severe than those Thucydides and Livy have observ'd. After all, That which I shall say may be
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serviceable to many Things, being design'd to destroy the Remainder of that Love of false Lustre, which still obtains, even in this Age, amongst Men whose Taste is not thoroughly purg'd and purify'd, to enlighten those who pretend to write with a Ray of sober Reason, which makes the solid Character; to stop that Current of Repute, which some sort of Men still attribute to Flash and Words; to shew that 'tis from Things rather than Words, the Nobleness of Expression should be sought; to avoid that empty Greatness of Discourse, as contrary to the real Dignity of Expression, as a too naked Simplicity; and to write in a sensible manner, by the right Use of a correct and sober Reason, which is no where better learn'd, than from the Acquaintance with these Two Authors; for I know very few that are more proper to make a Man Rational that reads them, if he reads them well: And though I should only say, that all the Majesty of the Roman Commonwealth still reigns in Livy, after it has been more than 1500 Years destroy'd; and all the Purity of Reason of the Ancient Greeks appears the same still in Thucydides, as it was 2000 Years ago; yet this would be enough, one would think, to excite the Curiosity of a generous Soul to know the Bottom of them, according to their Merits. For, in short, there probably never appear'd in any Work, more solid Reasons, accompanied with all the Force and Dignity of Discourse; no good Sense deliver'd with a more exquisite Judgment, than in these Two Authors.

THE
COMPARISON
OF
Thucydides and Livy.

CHAP. I.

The Design of the Work, and the Difficulties of the Undertaking.

BESIDES that vast Difficulty there is to establish standing Rules, whereby to judge of the Beauty of such Works as these which I am going to compare: There are many whose Opinion will be contrary to mine in the very Choice I have made of these Two Historians as the most Accomplish'd in both Languages because Men are different in their Judgments and humourfome in their Tastes of Things as 'twill be hard to convince them that a just Comparison can be made betwixt Two Authors, whose Works have nothing of Relation or Proportion to each other. For that of *Livy* is an Universal History of a People who had the Sovereignty of the World, that takes in a

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space of more than Seven hundred Years; and that of *Thucydides* is only a Fragment of a History, relating to a particular Nation, and of a War that lasted not Thirty Years in all: Such are the Difficulties that immediately offer themselves in the Execution of my propos'd Design; and it is troublesome to engage in't, before this Point be clear'd.

For the first, we need only understand what is the End of History, to be able to judge with some kind of Certainty and Distinction, of the Excellency of a Work of that Nature. And for the second Difficulty which respects the Choice I have made of these Two Authors, nothing can better justify it, than what I shall say in Commendation of them both. For, not to tie my self to the Testimonies of the Learned, who have given their Judgment of them before me, upon which I might build my own; not to mention *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, the most judicious Critick of them all, who calls *Thucydides* the most perfect of the Greek Historians, assuring us, that the Ingenious of his Time took him for the true Pattern of writing History: Not to call in the Evidence of *Quintilian* in Favour of *Livy*, whom he prefers before all *Latine Historians*; nor to allege the Admiration they have both been had in, by all Ages, where sound Sense hath had any Sway or Dominion; nothing can possibly afford us a better View of the Ascendant these two *Historians* have above all others, than the Parallel which may be drawn betwixt them, to convince those that are doubtful in the Matter. For the only *Greeks* that can pretend to Competition with *Thucydides*, are, in my Opinion, *Herodotus*, *Xenophon* and *Polybius*: The rest deserve not to enter the Lists with

A Comparison of

with him, as rising not to that Grandeur and Dignity which History requires.

Herodotus indeed took a greater Flight; his Design including all that was nobly transacted in *Europe* and *Asia*, by the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* for the Space of Two Hundred Years, was more fortunate than that of *Thucydides*; but the Performance is no way answerable to the Grandeur of the Subject. The too great Ambition that *Author* had to please, made him so careless of Truth, that *Plutarch* concludes his Falshoods alone would make a Volume; and his Integrity has been extremely run down by all that have examin'd it. He was of a Temper too agreeable to have a Character that was solid, laborious, and fit for the Discovery of Truth. He's of a superficial Genius, that lays not Stress enough on Things, to carry our Mind to the Bottom of them. As to *Xenophon*, he is admirable for the Sweetness of his Style; but is too smooth, and too much upon the Level; he hardly makes a Step out of that *middle Way*, which yet carries in it something Noble and Natural. *Polybius* is a kind of Philosopher of a penetrating Spirit, who lays out himself in Reasonings, and generally divests himself of the Character of *Historian*, to put on the *Politician*; the rest of the *Greeks* have nothing in them comparable to *Thucydides*.

There is still less Difficulty in respect of *Lives* among the *Latines*, the most accomplish'd of whose *Historians* come not near him. *Sallust* has scarce any thing that is finish'd: What we have remaining of his History, is insufficient to give us a just Notion of his Merit. There remains indeed enough to give us a good Opinion of him; but too little to found a Comparison

parison on with *Livy*. *Cæsar* (that in the most familiar way of expressing himself, has retain'd that Dignity which became him, and Writing in the lowest kind of *middle Stile*, wants nothing of the Fineness of the most *exact*) is no *Historian*. *Paterculus's* Piece, howbeit of a noble and delicate Taste, has too little *Body*, because it has too much *Soul*. *Tacitus* has an admirable *Genius*, but he generally out-shoots the *Sublime*; He is Noble enough in his Thoughts, but is not Natural in what he thinks. 'Tis true, he has abundance of Wit, but such Sort of Wit that cannot speak of *plain* Things in a *plain* Manner: For he is still *politic* and artificial in every Thing he says. His Work is not so much an *History* as *Reflections* on *History*: He busied himself in making Reflections, being forestall'd by others, who left nothing New for him to say, which determin'd him to that Way he took, wherein he succeeded, and made himself considerable. *Quintus Curtius* has handled a Noble Theme with too florid and gay an Air, in Terms too exquisite and far fetcht, and too studied Figures. In some Places he sports a little with his Subject, forgetting the Importance was such as requir'd more Gravity. *Livy* alone has fill'd up all the *Parts* of a Compleat *Historian*. The Greatness of his Subject is answerable to his Style: He has match'd the *Grandeur* of a People, whose History he writes with as Noble a *Genius*. That Matter could not be treated, as became its Greatness, but in that *Manner* he has done it; who has been Master of all the Beauties of Composition in such height of Perfection, as no Man else has ever been so happy as to arrive

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So then, all Things well consider'd, *Thucydides* has not only stood *unparallel'd* among those *Greek Historians*, which have been handed down to us, and *Livy* been *unrival'd* amongst the *Latines*; but both the one and the other have arriv'd to such a *Pitch* of Excellency as has appear'd in no *Historian* ever since. And all succeeding Ages have, as it were, fall'n prostrate at their Feet, acknowledging them to be *Genius* of the highest Order, destin'd to be Rules and Models to all others: Which will be made out in that which follows, so as to be unexceptionable to all those who will have a little Patience and Attention.

For the third Difficulty I own it impossible to make a just Comparison of *two Authors*, and their History who have no Relation to each other. But in respect of their *Wit* and of their *Temper*, of their *Ways* and *Manner* of Writing and all that belongs to Composition they may be compar'd: 'Tis only herein they can be made the Subject of a *Comparison*, and it is in this only that I *compare* them: But let us consider their *Persons* before we enter upon their Works.

C H A P. IX.

A Comparison of their Persons.

TH^{O'} *Impartiality*, *Fidelity*, *Honesty*, and other *Moral Virtues*, are not always necessary Qualifications of an *Author* in general: we may say notwithstanding they are extremely requisite to an *Historian*, whose Sentiments should

should ever be honest and well-meaning. 'Tis necessary his Zeal for Truth be as Sacred to him as his Religion; that Integrity be his indispensable Rule; that Honour, Love of Equity, and a *disinterested Meaning* shine in every thing he writes, and every thing he thinks. So that although it requires a prodigious Stock of Parts to write History well, yet an Historian that is in search of Glory, and thinks to make himself Immortal, should be more solicitous to avoid the Imperfections of Will than Understanding; the one being more Essential than the other. For 'tis not so much the Parts and great Capacity, as the Faithfulness of an Author which is regarded, when Men desire to be instructed how Things have been managed and transacted in former Times; since the best wrote History, take away the Credit of it, is no better than a Fable. But an Historian cannot himself be Faithful, unless he is an honest Man, disingaged of Prejudice, Interest and Passion. And these Qualifications require a Niceness of Conscience, a Greatness of Soul, and a Courage above the common Rate.

Which probably gave Occasion to that Roman *Primus* to admire how it came into the Head of one of *Pompey's Freed-Men*, named *Otacilius*, to undertake, the first of his Rank, to write an History; because to carry on such an Attempt successfully, there is requir'd a Sort of Liberty inconsistent with any thing slavish or cringing. A dishonest Man whose Soul is not of a make capable to distinguish false Glory from true, and who can be sensibly affected with other Interests than those of Truth and Reason, is the unfittest in the World to write an History. He will never be admitted into the Belief of Mankind, who first gains not their good Opinion of his Probity. So that

omnium libertinorum scribere Historiam orsus non nisi ab honestissimo quoque scribi solitam. Corn. Nep. in Fragmentis.

that *Sincerity* stands him instead of all things, if he would be well receiv'd; and if *Wit* should sometimes chance to fail him, yet Principles of *Honour* and *Honesty* should never be deficient. This then is the first *Foundation* for an *Historian*, as to his own Concern. And these are the Principles on which I intend to examine these two *Authors*, in what respects their *Persons*, in order to compare them.

The Person
of Thucy-
dides.

We know nothing of Certainty concerning the *Person* of *Thucydides*, but what he himself has deliver'd in his *History*, that he was a Citizen of *Athens*, and General of the Army in *Thrace*, where he Married; That his Possessions were very great there, and that he purchased much Esteem by the Largeness of his Expences. For the rest Antiquity is almost silent in the Matter. There is no Question to be made but that he was of an honourable Extraction, which, *Marcellinus*, who has left us a Fragment of the Life of this Great Man, deduces from the Kings of *Thrace*, pretending that his Grandfather married a Daughter of that Family, whence his Father took the Name *Olorus*, and that he reckon'd amongst his Ancestors *Miltiades* and *Cimon*, these two celebrated Generals of the *Athenians*. *Suidas* and *Photius* relate, that *Thucydides*, when a Youth, hearing *Heroditus* read his *History* at the Solemnity of the *Olympick Games*, fell a Crying, through a gallant Jealousie, and a Sense of Emulation: Which gave Occasion to *Herodotus* to Complement the Father of the young Gentleman, as giving an infallible Earnest of his future Glory: In short, he was an honest Man; the Severity of his *Morals* and his *Piety* are to be seen in several Places of his Works, where he ever talks like a Man of Excellent Principles, never advancing of his own Head any Maxim

of dangerous consequence. And his Discourse carries always in it a Masculine air of Vertue, Take for an Instance what he says of a famous Commander, that was put to Death by the *Syracusians* after his Defeat. Thus fell Nicias, Libro 7. de Bello Pelop. who of all his Cotemporaries least deserv'd to dye in such a Manner, as having always been a zealous Worshipper of the Gods. And by the Character of his Integrity, which appears in all his Writings he discovers the true bottom of his Heart, and the Purity of his Manners, which is the Quality *Aristotle* chiefly requires in a Discourse: Rhet. 1. 3. When he says it can never be agreeable to the Subject, when 'tis insufficient to give you the Manners of the Speaker: And a Discourse is nothing worth where the Manners of the Man are naught; for 'tis a Rule that one should be conformable to the other. Which is the particular Character of this *Author*, who never fails to create a good Opinion of himself in the Minds of those that read him.

Anaxagoras was his Master in *Philosophy*, and *Anipphon* in *Rhetorick*, by both which his Mind was Form'd in that solid and sensible Manner to those Studies which lay the main Foundation of his Character. But as excellent as he was at these Sciences, he however knew the World better than Books. The Acquaintance he had with *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Critias*, *Alcibiades*, *Pericles*, and all the Great Men of that Age, which was the Politest, and of the finest Taste that has ever been among the *Greeks*, gave the finishing stroke, so as to fit his Mind with those noble Idea's and Principles, which make an absolute Gentleman, and an accomplish'd Historian: For besides that no Man ever wrote in a more brave and disinterested Manner, without the last reserve to his Resentment: He has

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moreover said nothing, but with all imaginable Candor. He was so utter an Enemy to all manner of *disguise*, that he could not away with any thing that should, I dont say wound, but give the least Offence to Truth, never advancing any Maxim that look'd not towards the Good of the *Publick*, the Love of which was engraven in his Heart. He was so tender and scrupulous of *Honour*, that he has not fail'd in his *History* to treat the *Athenians* well, even those at whose Hands he had receiv'd the greatest Indignities: Concealing nothing which might be to the Advantage of *Cleon* and *Brasidas* the principal Authors of his Banishment.

For it was principally through the Intrigue of *Cleon* his Rival, that he was Banish'd his Country, for not having succour'd *Amphipolis*, whither he was commanded: And it was during his Exile that he wrote his *History*, finding more leisure, and better instructions in the Enemies Affairs, amongst whom he liv'd, as he declares in his Fifth Book; in which he speaks of his Banishment, and his Retirement among the *Lacedemonians*, by whose means he got acquainted with the Mystery of Affairs, which he had no possibility of knowing any other way. His Lady that he Married bringing him a vast Fortune, he made use of it to collect his *Memoirs*; and he disburst considerable Sums to the *Lacedemonian* Commanders, to be instructed in the Truth of those things which his own Party, for their own Interest, had disguis'd. The Passion he had for Study, and the Pleasure he took in it, made his ill Fortune sit easier upon him, by giving him Resolution: 'Tis not known that he ever attempted his Restoration; the Honours that were due to him seem'd odious, since he thought it a shame to ask them; and

and having through Modesty never been forward, before his Exile, to make his way up to the Helon, he thought himself now utterly incapable of doing it, being suspected by the Citizens. He retreated to *Egina* a small Island of *Peloponnesus*, where he began to work upon his History. His Exile lasted twenty Years, and he Died before he had finish'd it. 'Tis his great Glory to have said nothing against his Conscience, as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* assures us in his own words, and that was one of his more special Qualities. *Cicero* gives him almost the same Encomium: And 'tis the Testimony the Learn'd of all Antiquity have given of him, who have extoll'd his Sincerity above his other Vertues. He had the Fortune to serve his Country both with his Sword and Pen; being engag'd in most of the Expeditions he Describes. And having, through the Employ of the Republick had intrusted him with, obtain'd an entire Knowledge of the Affairs of his own Country, as well as the Interests of the *Lacedemonian* Common wealth, for the Particulars of which he was wholly oblig'd to his Exile: This gave him opportunity of preparing himself for his Undertaking with a Diligence which scarce had its Precedent. And it may be said, never Historian took Pen in hand better furnish'd with Instructions, which he collected out of the different Interests of the two Nations, whose History he undertook. It may be farther added, that never Author had a greater Passion for Virtue, or a greater Aversion to Injustice than *Thucydides*. He died in *Thrace* in the Fiftieth Year of his Age, before his Work was finish'd. *Xenophon*, who Completed it, adjoin'd the War of *Sicily*, and the other Wars of *Greece*, to enlarge his History. This is all

Dion. Halic. in Jud. de Thucyd. Num. 9. *Thucydides rerum gestarum pronunciator sincerus.*

we have been able to gather concerning the Person of *Thucydides*; for his Historian *Marcellinus* has rather given us the History of his *Mind*, than of his *Life*.

*The Person
of Livy.*

We are still more in the dark as to the Particulars of *Livy's* Life, than that of *Thucydides*: For whether he had a greater Unconcernedness for Publick Business, and his own Promotion; or had more of the *Philosopher* than *Thucydides*: Whether he was of a more Studious Constitution, and was destin'd to live retir'd in Silence and Obscurity; certain it is we know very little of his Origin, his Employments, his Adventures, or the Condition of his Fortune in general. Only thus much, that he was of *Padua*, contrary to *Sigonius's* his Opinion, who would have him Born in a Village near that Town, call'd *Apona*, producing for this the pretended Testimony of *Martial*, in one of his Epigrams. 'Tis plain too he was of an Honourable Family, since it had the Honour of sending out *Consuls* of the *Roman Commonwealth*. That he liv'd under the Empire of *Augustus*; that he Dedicated some Dialogues to him, upon the *Questions debated in those Times*, relating to *Philosophy*; whereby he got into that Emperour's Acquaintance, and good Opinion; that he after wrote a Treatise of *Eloquence* to his Son, which *Quintilian* made great account of; that he began his *History* at *Rome*, for the convenience of such Memorials as were necessary, which were Recorded in the *Annals* in the *Capitol*; and for the better distinguishing Truth from Fabulous Traditions, wherewith the *Originals* of the City of *Rome* abounded; that he retired some time after to *Naples*, to avoid Disturbance in his Study; that he recited to *Augustus* and

and *Mecenas* some parts of his *History*, wherewith they were sensibly affected; that *Augustus*, upon the Esteem he conceived of him, made choice of him for a *Tutor* to form the Mind of his young Son * *Claudius*, who afterwards was Em- * Sueton. perour. † *Pliny Junior* says, the Reputation of in Claud. this Great Man began already to make such a cap. 42. Noise in the World, that a *Stranger* came to † *Gadita-* Rome from the farthest part of *Spain*, purposely num quen- to see *Livy*, whose Renown had spread itself dam Titi Livii no- far and near in his own Country. mini glo- riaque

commotum, ad visendum eum ab ultimo terrarum orbe venisse, statimque ut viderat abiisse. Plin. l. 2. Epist. l. 3.

After the death of *Augustus* he return'd to *Padua*, where the Citizens receiv'd him with extraordinary Honours. He dy'd in the fourth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*. His abode at *Rome*, and the Favour of *Augustus*, gave him opportunity of furnishing himself with Knowledge necessary to his Design. The Zeal for his Undertaking, which was great and extraordinary, so fix'd him to his Closet, and gave him so little Disquiet for the Concernments of his Fortune, that his Life thereby became a little obscure; being he was oblig'd to sequester himself from a more publick Conversation, and live private, that he might give himself wholly up to that grand Work he had in hand. He must needs have had a Soul prodigiously great, to form the Project of so vast and laborious an Enterprize. For in short, whatever *Genius* a Man has, 'tis only a Greatness of Spirit can produce those exalted and generous Sentiments that make the Beauty and Excellency of a Noble Work.

Livy was also One of the Worthiest Men of all *Antiquity*. We need not only read him,

to think well of him, his Manner of Writing ever giving us a great *Idea* of his *Probity*. You would conclude from his *Air* of Speaking, that he knew not what *Vanity* was. He has not only never spoken of *himself*; nor any thing that belongs to him, in his *History*; but likewise we had been ignorant in what *Times* he Wrote, had it not been for a Word that by chance escap'd him, concerning the *Temple* of *Janus*, which was now shut, says † he, by *Augustus*, having been so but once before, since the Reign of *Numa*. He began his *History* in a strain of *Modesty*, which seems so Admirable to me, that I cannot believe a discreeter *Author* ever appeared in the World. See what the Scope of that *History* which has been the most absolute Master-piece of *Antiquity*, and the Admiration of all Ages. * I am uncertain whether the *History* I write of the *Actions* of the Roman People, since the *Foundation* of *Rome*, will be a Work worth any consideration; and tho' I were persuaded of it, I durst not say it; for it is a matter, &c. The rest of that *Exordium*, which I offer not to copy, since 'tis in the hands of all Men, is answerable to the Beginning, and is sufficient to shew the Spirit of the Author. Never Man promis'd so little in Beginning a Work that perform'd so much. He comes not without trembling to the opening his Design, diffident of his own Strength in sustaining so great an Enterprize. But 'tis only in order to give us more, that he suffers us to hope so little; he is not *timorous*, but because he is *wise*, and ordinarily a Man is no farther *Modest*, than he is *Judicious*. And this Character of *Modesty* is the finest among all the Qualities of an *Author*, that is Meditating some great thing; quippe qui, &c. Proem. Hist. Tit. Livii.

† Janus
post Numa
regnum
clausus se-
met T.
Manlio
Consule, i-
terum quod
nostra ata-
ti dii dede-
rint, ut vi-
deremus
post bel-
lum Actia-
cum ab im-
peratore
Caesare Au-
gusto pace
terra mari-
que par-
ta, &c.
Hist. Rom.
l. i.

* Factu-
rus ne ope-
ra pretium
sim, si à
primordio
urbis res
populi Ro-
mani per-
scripserim,
nec satis
scio, nec si
sciam, di-
cere ausim;
quippe qui,

noth
men
Capa
of h
can
For
Man
all P
Justi
wor
Lips
Opi
mak
to a
foun
ful
Bea
ten
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nothing creates a greater Notion of his Judgment, than his Distrust. It is a Proof of his Capacity, that he is sensible of the Weightiness of his Subject, and 'tis the greatest Testimony can be given of the Honesty of an *Historian*. For what a Fund of Discretion and Good Manners must he needs have, that can stifle all Pride, so natural to Mankind, and do himself Justice without Flattery. See wherein *Livy* is worthy of Admiration so soon as he opens his Lips. But after he has given us so mean an Opinion of himself by the small Regard he makes of his own Performances, he lets us into a multitude of *Lights*, he discovers a *profoundness* of Mind, an *extent* of Genius, a *fruitfulness* of Imagination; in fine, a Thousand Beauties, and infinite Treasures, which we attend not to, when we only reckon upon what he promis'd us.

For his *Sincerity*, it Underwent the severest Trial that possibly could be, without being Corrupted. The Reputation he was in with *Augustus*, and that Favour to which he had advanc'd him, were not Motives sufficient to hinder his speaking Honourably, not only of *Pompey*, but also of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, the greatest Enemies of that *Emperour*; honouring the Memory of the *Conquer'd* in the Face, as one may say, of the *Conquerour*; and Recommending to the World, as Honest Men, the Murtherers of *Cæsar*, in the Presence of *Augustus*; because they were Lovers of their own Country. 'Tis this which *Cremutius Cordus* Corn. Tacit. de Cremutio Cordo. l. 4. Annal. thought impossible to be sufficiently Praised in *Titus Livius*, as we are assur'd by *Tacitus*.

Such was *Livy* for his *Moral Accomplishments*, and what respects his *Person*: And it seems that something had been wanting to the *glory*,

or rather the good Fortune of a People that was Master of the World, had they fail'd of so great a Man for their *Historian*. 'Tis that which has doubtless occasion'd that Famous *Inscription* found at *Padua* in the Year one thousand four hundred and thirteen, in the Church of St. *Justina*. *Ossa Titi Livii Patavini omnium mortalium judicio digni, cujus prope invicto calamo, invicti populi Romani res gestæ conscriberentur.*

Thus then we see two truly *Virtuous Historians* : But to conclude this Head, the Virtue of *Thucydides* seems more Admirable than that of *Livy*. The former has afforded a kind Treatment even to his *Enemies*, who could not make him abate the least of his Integrity : And the Virtue of the latter Soar'd not quite so high, since it went no farther, than causing him to speak well of the *Enemies* of *Augustus* his Protector. This is what may be Collected of the Persons and Morals of both *Historians* : Let us now examine their Intellectual Virtues, which we cannot know better than by a Comparison of their *Characters*.

C H A P. III.

The Comparison of their Characters.

AS the *Lines* of a Face are expos'd to view, so 'tis no hard matter to discover them; but the *Lineaments* of a Mind from whence proceed the Differences of a *Style*, and *Character*, are so Obscure and Imperceptible, that without a very singular *insight*, nothing of them can be known. Take however what Ancient Authors have

have left us of *Thucydides*, who were best able to know his Character.

He has a Mind so Solid, and well Founded, *The chara-*
that he speaks nothing but what is well thought *cter of*
and correct; nothing but what has all the *Thucydi-*
Nerves and Strength, his Subject is capable of *des.*

receiving. And whereas he always arrives at the truest Sense, and purest Reason, troubling not his Head about the Ornaments of Discourse, his way is usually somewhat dry, yet strong and lively, because he is concise and close in his Expression. 'Twas from that great strength of

Parts that he Studied to include so *much* Sense and so *few* Words, and *talking less* than others, that he often *said* a great deal *more*. Take *Ci-*

cero's Opinion of him in these words. *Thucydi-*
des in Dignity of Style, and the Art of Eloquence, *ficio mea*
in my Opinion, goes far beyond all that have Wrote: *sententia*

He abounds so with Matter, that his Thoughts are *facile vin-*
almost equal in number to his Words, and he is so *cit, qui ita*
expressive and close in what he says, that 'tis hard *creber est*
to say whether his Words set off the things, or the *rerum fre-*

things his Words, the most. This is what makes *quentia ut*
him so very Sententious in respect of other *verborum*
Historians; and is the Cause that his Sense, *prope nu-*
straitned and confin'd in so few Words, be- *merum sen-*
comes something *Obscure*, because it wants that *tentiarum*
Liberty and Compass requir'd to make it Natu- *numero con-*
ral and Easie. *sequatur.*

His Style is Exalted, Noble and Sublime, *ita porro*
which is the Reason of his using so frequent *verbis ap-*
and so bold Metaphors, in pure *Political* Terms, *tus & pres-*
yet better *manag'd* than those of *Plato*: And *fus ut ne-*
hence he arriv'd to that grandeur of Expression *scias utrum*
which reigns so strongly in his Writings: In *res oratio-*
which he is ever great, without being *extrava-*
gant in his Thoughts; always Natural, yet *ne an ver-*
falls not into any thing *Vulgar* or *Common*. *ba senten-*

tis illu-
This

strentur.
Cic. lib. 3.
de Orat.

This he took from *Homer*, whose Imitator he perfectly was. He propos'd him for a Pattern in his *simple*, though *noble* Expression, and almost in the whole Order of his Discourse, that is *lively* and *animated*. *Marcellinus* adds, that he betook himself to one *Prodicus* of the Island *Cos*, for the exact Choice of Words, and to *Gorgias* of *Leontium* for Order and Disposition. And besides that, this *Historian* form'd himself upon *Pindar* for the *Sublime* Style, and the Greatness of Expression, which was his Excellence.

He had also learnt of *Socrates*, by the acquaintance he had with him, the Art of a Frank, and Ingenuous *Narration*, which he was so well accustom'd to, and which procur'd him the gift of *Persuasion* in so high a measure: true it is that never any Man knew how to use his Reason better, or to make it more prevalent by those *natural*, but *strong* and pressing Turns he gave it: 'Tis in this likewise he so far Transcends the rest of *Authors*, speaking nothing but what was Essential to his Design. This it is that gives that Weight, Force and Dignity to his Discourse. He is indeed sometimes a little irregular in his Narrations, but 'tis always an Effect of *Art* more than *Disorder*. 'Tis only to *inspire* what he says, and to *paint* things in a more *lively* manner, that he expresses as *present*, what is *past*; and as careless as he seems in certain places, he still preserves a justness of Expression couch'd in his Words, so as nothing in the World is more natural than his Eloquence, or more *finely* Natural: His way of reasoning by frequent *Entymemes*, which *Demosthenes* has so well Copied, is strong and vehement; and nothing can be more lively or more engaging, than that Air of his which

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which makes his distinguishing Character. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* concludes him to be the first *Inventer* of that Way, which has set him so far above all other Writers. We find in the end of that Critick's Discourse, to *Tu-bero*, the places wherein *Demosthenes* has best express'd the Force and Grandeur of *Thucydides* in his Imitation. 'Twas upon this great Model that noble *Orator* was form'd, to which he apply'd himself with that exceeding Industry, as to Transcribe this *Author's History* eight times over, to take his Character, and Copy out his Excellence; as we are assur'd by his Commentator *Ulpian* the Rhetorician. And it was chiefly in his Declamations against *Philip* of *Macedon*, that *Demosthenes* imitated that Historian; and in the places where he speaks of the Republicks of *Corinth*, *Corcyra*, and of the King of *Persia*, and in such other Subjects as had reference to those *Demosthenes* had to treat of.

In fine, *Thucydides* had a nobleness of Thought, a choice of Words, a boldness of Imagination, a vigour of Discourse, a profoundness of Reasoning, a neatness of Conception, a fineness of Stroke, Colour and Expression, which none of the other Greek Historians have been Masters of; which gave the most Ingenious Criticks amongst the *Ancients* reason to acquaint us, he took the true Style, History ought to be Wrote in. And indeed whatever he says, whatever passes through his Mind, receives a Turn of Greatness and Beauty beyond what any others can afford us. He is a *Genius* of an Order above the common Standard, that conceives every thing Nobly, and gives a sort of Elevation to the most ordinary things. This so solid Character of Mind gave him an exquisite relish
for

for what was excellent, an admirable *Sagacity* in the Choice of things, an obstinate *Adherence* to *Truth*, (which made him a Critical Observer of every thing any ways conducive to the discovery of it) an incredible *Aversion* to any thing that was an offence to *Probability*; ever endeavouring more to *profit* than *please*, as he declares himself at the beginning of his Work. Hence he became so careful and scrupulous as to *throw off* many of those Ornaments his Subject might have *wore*; as his *Historian* has observ'd, to the End he might avoid those famous *Rocks*, on which the want of Discretion cast *Herodotus*, as *Arion* and his *Dolphin*, with the rest of his fabulous Adventures. And 'tis on this Account also, that all *Antiquity* has had so great an Opinion of *Thucydides*.

Marsellin.
in vita
Thucyd.

Dionys.
Halic in
Judicio de
Thucyd.
Num. 9.

But after all, this *great Man* seems to be in nothing worthier of Admiration, than in his Treating of the *Manners* of Men, as one that excellently understood *Mankind*, and had all the *Penetration* requisite to *unfold* the most intricate *doublings* of the Heart: 'Twas from this profound Knowledge, he could so well discover the *Springs* and *Motives* of the nicest Interests, and the most imperceptible *Movements* of the secretest Passions that set Mankind on work: 'Twas through the shrewdness of his *View*, that he stor'd his Mind with those grand Maxims of the *publick Good*, and all those *political* Considerations wherewith his *History* abounds: And upon which he built his principal Reasonings for the establishing of States, and continuing them establish'd. From this so vast, and rich Fund, it is he draws out those noble *Sentiments*, and *admirable Reflections* he makes upon the Management of the *People*, and Conduct of their *Governours*, and from whence he

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he deduces those excellent *Principles* that are the first Foundations of that *Equity* and *Honesty* which make *flourishing* States; and those sound *political* and *moral Maxims*, which serve for Rules to guide Men in their Duty. Hence it is he Circumstantiates every thing with so much Distinction, keeping close to *necessary* Particularities, and cutting off what is *useless* or *superfluous* to the Subject. Hence he takes those lively, affectionate and pathetical *Descriptions*, that embellish his Discourse: From hence it is he forms the project of his *Narratives* of Battels, Sieges, Assaults, Defences, warlike Expeditions, popular Commotions, and all those Agitations that usually happen in Commonwealths, through the Nature of their Government, which are ever judiciously Circumstanc'd. To conclude, 'tis from that *rich Treasury* of the Knowledge of Men's Manners he has taken all those Rules of *Decency*, which teach him to represent all Conditions, Persons and Actions, as their Quality and Capacity demand; and from whence he has Form'd that *wonderful Art* of Eloquence that renders him absolute Master of those he speaks to, in perswading them to whatever he desires. 'Tis by this Art he engages and *fixes* the Mind of his Reader upon the *Action* he describes, by so dazling Colours and lively Images, representing to his Eye, as it were, rather than his Understanding, the things he speaks of, moving his Passion, raising his Attention, and filling him full of the matter he's Expressing: Whilst the Mind, *draggd* along with a pleasing kind of *Violence*, lets go its hold, and is willingly carried away by the *Impetus* of the Current, for the better *Attending* to the Impression.

But

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illa Livii
lactea
ubertas sa-
tis docebit
eum qui
non speciem
expositionis
sed fidem
querit.
Instit.

l. 10. c. 1.

But though all *Authors* indifferently make use of the *same* Terms and the *same* Expressions, yet each has a *peculiar* Character, because the order and management of his Discourse is different; as every *Painter* has a *particular* way, though all have the *same* Colours. Take then the Character of *Livy*. He had, together with all the Accomplishments of *Thucydides*, in which he equally excell'd, an advantage of *Birth* above him, a natural *Felicity* for all things fine and great, wherein he had a *Palate* extraordinary delicate. He had an exquisite Faculty of expressing his Thoughts nobly, an admirable *Genius* for Eloquence in general, that is, for the *purity* of Discourse, for a *fineness* of Speech, for the *dignity* of Expression, and a certain *elevation* of Soul, that made him most fortunate in his Imagination. He was, to compleat these Qualifications, *choice* in his Words, *just* in the Order of his Discourse, *great* in his Sentiments, *noble* and proportionate in the Disposition and universal *Oeconomy* of his Design: He was, in short, Master of all the *Rhetorick* of History: For *History* has a peculiar *Rhetorick* of its own, and this *Rhetorick* has its Rules. *Quintilian* says his *Style* is *sweet* and *fluent*, that it has a greater Tendency to *Solidity*, than *flash* and *lustre*; and is most pleasing to those who had rather be *Affected*, than *Dazzled* and *Amazed*. His Air is *great* and noble in its *Simplicity*, and he has a *softness* of Expression, ever supported with much Force and Majesty. His Discourse is animated in so lively a Manner, as suffers nothing to *drop* or languish. And the *Turn*, the *Cadence*, the *Graces* he gives to all he says, the *Justness* of his Words, the *Clearness* of his Sense, every thing he has is *admirable*. Perhaps there was never *Historian* more engaging by the Ta-

lent he had of expressing Nature to the Life, and giving her a *different* Face, as became her *several* Conditions, painting her always in her *proper* Colours, making every Passion speak its *Genuine Language* that it might have its effect upon the Mind. Hence it is he's so incomparable at *Painting* the *Manners*, that his *Portraits* are so *like*, that he *expresses* every thing in the *Features* that become it, never *confounding* those Beauties which Nature has distinguish'd.

He eminently exceeds the rest of the *Historians* in that perfect Knowledge he has of all *decorums*, which is a Science indispensably necessary to a Man that will write *History*; since nothing carries a *face* of Truth, but from an exact Observation of what is *agreeable* to each particular. See how he distinguishes the *different* Ages of the Common-wealth, by the *difference* of Spirit and Manners that reign'd in it. 'Tis by this Principle *Hannibal* and *Scipio* preserve their Characters so well in this *Author*; where nothing is touch'd in the same Manner, or wrote in the *same Tenour*. From hence it is that *Rome* could speak otherways under *Kings* and *Tribunes*, than in the Reigns of the *last Consuls* and *Emperours*. That every one in that History stands mark'd with a *distinguishing* Character. The Historian often changes the *Style* it self. His Discourse has *authority* when it Instructs, it has *sweetness* and *condescension* when it Persuades, *neatness* when it Relates, is *graceful* and elegant when it would Please, is *servent*, *moving* and *pathetical* when it would Affect. He is *moral* and *instructive* where it is requir'd, giving Lessons to the whole World, and at the same time seeming to do nothing less.

Finally

A Comparison of

Finally the *length* of his *Period*, which many are apt to reproach him with, is in my Judgment one of his greatest Advantages: 'Tis this only that makes him *majestical*. For a long and ample *Style* never wants *majesty*, when it is, like his, bore up with good Sense, and an exquisite Choice of Words. After all, the World has never been able to discern his Method. He has a secret Art couch'd under a seeming Plainness and *Simplicity*, which makes him appear *natural* throughout his Work. He is particularly sure to practise that Art, in that which seems to have its dependance most on Nature; carefully shunning all manner of *Affection*, and studying always to be *Simple*: 'Tis by this *stately* and *familiar* way together, which is the most usual Ornament of his Discourse, that he *strikes* the Soul with those wonderful *Impressions*, that he *Shakes* and Agitates it as he pleases, that his Sentiments *break* in upon you through the *force* of his Words, (the Strength of which he very well understood,) and that he always moves those whom he is speaking to by the natural *Energy* of his Expression. This Quality renders him as *vehement* in his *great* Passions, as *soft* and agreeable in the *less*, giving the former a more *active* and lively Mien, and *smoothing* over the latter with a *gentle* and tender Touch. Indeed the Genius he had for the Nobleness of Expression, and the Art he had to manage it so dexterously, and employ it upon occasion, accusom'd him to raise himself upon any great Event. 'Twas here he took a kind of Pride to set forth, as one may say, and shew the most rare and conceal'd Riches of his Soul, in their full Capacity. What Draughts, what Paintings, does he then give you, when the greatness of his Theme,

Theme, at once excites him, and furnishes him with those admirable Opportunities, he knew how to make the best of it ! And it is in those *favourable*, and *naturally lofty* Topicks, that he raises and ennobles his Discourse, by those great Idea's with which his excellent *Genius* for the *sublime* and majestic Style inspires him, which is his very Character. 'Tis in fine, by the natural and proper Choice of Words, the most in use, but the most Glittering and Harmonious, which add a Lustre to all the other Beauties of Discourse ; he excites in the Mind of his Readers, an Admiration mingled with Surprize, which is quite another thing than the Pleasure that accrues from meer Persuasion.

I acknowledge *Thucydides* has much of this Character, I know likewise that *Longinus* reckons him amongst the Models he proposes of the *Sublime* ; that he has a natural Happiness at Expressing things *nobly*, that he even *stamps* the Image of the Object he describes upon the very Words ; that the Frequency of his *Figures*, especially the *Hyperbaton*, which he uses in his *Narration*, gives more Heat and Action to his Discourse, by transposing things, and changing the natural Order of the Time, as a means to keep the Mind *close* to the Subject he represents in so *lively* Colours ; and his *Sublime* is ever sustain'd by a *Greatness* of Sense, and *Vigour* of Expression ; and that he has throughout his manner of Writing, a kind of *Loftiness* that strikes the Mind. For none but those who have a solid way of Thinking, are able to *elevate* a Discourse. But it must be confess'd that the *sublime* of *Thucydides* is less manag'd than that of *Livy*, who knows as well to *sloop* in lesser things, as to mount and *soar* in greater ;

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Lib. de
colloc. verb.
numb. 29.

and to give those Flourishes and Graces to his Discourse, which *Thucydides* never thought of. Which made *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* say, That *Thucydides* was always beautiful indeed, but scarce ever agreeable; for he distinguishes the *Gracefulness* from the *Beauty* of a Discourse. 'Tis the *Cadence*, the *Harmony*, the *Elegance*, the *Fineness*, the *Sweetness*, the *Lustre* and *Order*, and the proper *decorum* of a Subject, that he will have to make a Discourse *graceful*; and 'tis in the *Grandeur*, the *Nobleness*, the *Majesty*, and the *Gravity*, he makes the *Beauty* to consist. The *Grace* and *Mien* is generally the effect of Parts and Nature, *Beauty* is often the Product of Art; and one is the gift of Heaven, and the other the effect of Study.

Titus Livius in
narrando
mira jucunditatis
clarissima-
que candoris.
Quin. l. 10.
c. 1.

Dionys.
Hal. in jud.
de Thucyd.

'Tis herein, almost, consists the difference there is betwixt our two Historians. *Livy* is fine and agreeable, to a Miracle; he knew how to strew his *Flowers* in the Places that needed them: He had likewise a happy Faculty of managing his Ornaments, and embellishing his Discourse; which Advantage Nature had not bestow'd on *Thucydides*, who is fine without caring to be agreeable; that *Austerity* of Temper, which is so natural to him, that *Severity* of Way, that *Exactness* of Sense, that *Correctness* of Reason, and that prodigious *Seriousness* he Wrote with, made him diligently avoid those charms of Language, which he disapprov'd in *Herodotus*. The *Beauty* of *Livy* is of a lovely and tender make; the *Beauty* of *Thucydides* is stately, austere, and ancient, as *Dionysius* himself calls it: the one is always noble, and the other taking. The one ties himself to his Matter, which he precisely pursues; the other gives an agreeable Form to every thing that goes through his Mind. And this is it wherein the essential Difference of their Cha-

Characters consists. Let us examine the *Subjects*, both of them have work'd upon, and compare them likewise in that particular, that nothing may be wanting to a just *Comparison*.

CHAP. IV.

The Comparison of the Subjects of their History.

THUCYDIDES having so great a *Genius*, 'twas impossible he should conceive any mean Design. So lofty a Mind could not admit low and groveling Idea's. The *Peloponnesian* War, which he undertook to Write, was at that time, the most curious Subject of History in being, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* assures us too, that he preferr'd it before that of *Herodotus*. And he says, that having laid before him for a Model, the Two most celebrated *Historians* of his Time, *Herodotus* and *Hellanicus*, he found fault with the *Subjects* each of them had taken. *Hellanicus's* Design, who had attempted to write the *History of Athens*, look'd too uncompounded, too narrow, and of too little Action; *Herodotus's History*, which contain'd the Wars the *Grecians* wag'd against the *Kings of Persia*; that is to say, all the Memorable Actions that happen'd in *Europe* and *Asia*, for Two Hundred Years space, seem'd too vast and unwieldy. He thought so great an Object very disproportionate to the Mind of Man unable to comprehend in his Thought so mighty a Project: Upon which he mistrusted his own

The Sub-
ject of
Thucy-
des.

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Abilities, despairing in the *thread* of a Discourse, to give that due *Connexion* so different Matters would require, which of themselves seem'd too Extravagant and Incoherent.

So having thought upon his Design, he pitch'd upon a middle and a moderate Way, chusing a Subject capable of being bounded in a less compass than that of *Herodotus*; and of receiving a greater extent than *Hellanicus's*: engaging himself in the History of the *Peloponnesian War*; which continued Seven and Twenty Years. But to ascend to the Fountain-head of that War; it Commenc'd upon the occasion of the War betwixt *Corinth* and *Corcyra*. *Peloponnesus* is a kind of Peninsula in the *Archipelago*, formerly going by the name of the Country of *Argos*, and now of the *Morea*. The *Corinthians*, the more potent People of the Two, being attack'd by the *Corcyreans*, who were the ancient *Phæacians*, the *Athenians* engag'd in their Interest, and the *Lacedemonians* took the *Corinthians* into their Protection. The two Republicks, *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, were then in the most flourishing Condition they were ever known in; and as their Power was arriv'd to the highest Pitch, and their respective Grandeur gave a mutual Jealousy of each other, that War was a kind of Dispute betwixt them for the Empire of *Greece*.

The *Athenians* began to be suspected by the *Lacedemonians*, under the Government of *Pericles*, who was become the Favourite of the People, by his popular Behaviour. He had the absolute Administration of the Affairs of Peace and War in the Republick for Forty Years together, by that admirable Talent he had in Oratory, becoming an incontrollable Sovereign in *Athens*; he made that City formidable to the rest

rest of the Commonwealths of *Greece*, by the several Embassies he caused it to depute either upon its real, or pretended Interests: Which thing rendring that *Republick* so highly considerable in all the Countries round about, caus'd the *Lacedemonians* first to take the Alarm; and these two States exasperated by a long Emulation, began to dispute the Sovereign Power, by a formal War they declar'd, for which the War of *Corcyra* and *Corinth* was only a Pretence. All *Greece* was concern'd, and most of the Neighbouring People engag'd in the Quarrel, which became the most Famous in the World; and they sided according as their different Interest, or different Pretensions carry'd them, to this or that Party.

Thucydides reflecting in his Exile on that famous Dispute betwixt Two of the most *polite* and *warlike* People in the World, found nothing that could better employ his Leisure, than the Writing of their History: And being resolved upon it, consulting his own Breast, he had sufficient Strength to write what he knew himself; and what he could collect from those who had born a part in Affairs, in a Controversy of that Importance, so as to give a good Account of it to Posterity. It is true, the different Temper of the *Spartans* and *Athenians*, that uniform Conduct he observ'd in *Lacedemon*, for the continuance of the same Form of Government, without the least Alteration, which made that *Republick* so *powerful*, as to be able to give *Laws* to its Neighbours; that *Severity* of Discipline, *Rigidity* of Morals, *Frugality* of Living, *Modesty* of Habit, all opposite to the *Luxury*, *Pompousness*, and *Politeness* of *Athens*: besides the consideration of that *People*, always giddy and wavering in their Sentiments;

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which was a true Image of Lightness and Inconstancy, compar'd with the Constancy and Resolution of the *Lacedemonians*, promis'd him fair Idea's for the compleating such Pieces as were likely to please, from their Diversity and Opposition: Those great Generals, *Themistocles*, *Pericles*, *Theramenes*, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, with so many others that had the principal Commands on both sides, and all the *Grandees*, who signaliz'd themselves more eminently by their glorious Actions in that War, whose Names have all along been magnify'd in so high a manner, furnisht him with noble Subjects, whereby he might recommend himself by representing them to the Life.

Add to all this the strange Accidents that War was disturb'd with, as extraordinary Earthquakes, frequent Eclipses of the Sun, Droughts, Famines, Plagues, and other more fatal Adventures, which gave him a Privilege of *diversifying* his Work, mingling it with terrible Subjects, and most frightful Occurrences. There might probably be other more engaging Prospects than these foremention'd, that determin'd this *Author* in the Choice of his Subject, which seem'd worthy to employ his Pen, from such a Retail of mighty Circumstances, as render'd that War, (as he himself in the beginning of his Work confesses) the most remarkable Enterprize in all Antiquity: Especially since *Athens* and *Lacedemon* were at their highest Point of Glory, and all *Greece* interest'd it self in that Expedition. Sure it is also, that *Xenophon*, who was a Man of a singular Judgment, found the *Peloponnesian* War so fine a Subject, that he quitted those other Works he had before him, to accomplish that *History* *Thucydides* had left imperfect, by rea-
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son of his Death, that took him unexpectedly.

As great, notwithstanding, as this Subject *The Subject* seem'd to this *Author*, it must not come at all *of Livy.* in Competition with *that* which *Livy* went upon. There is so great a Disproportion betwixt them, that there's no room for Deliberation concerning the Preheminence. This is the *entire* History of many Ages, of a *People* almost always Victorious, and that made it self Master of the World. 'Tis a vast, and unfathom'd Ocean, a *Carrière* of so unbounded an Extent, that it may be said, such a grand Design never entred the Head of any Historian besides him. Others, who have undertaken as long-winded Pieces, in proper speaking, are *Compilers*, not *Historians*. In fine, 'tis one of the greatest Attempts of a Humane Mind; and possibly never *Author* appear'd in a vaster *Theatre*, as one may say, than He. But 'tis not only from the long *succession* of Time, and the *multitude* of Years, the Subject is so great: 'Tis through the Grandeur of a *People* that was *Sovereign* of all others: 'Tis by the *glorious Actions* of this *People*, in their Warlike Expeditions, and Treaties of Peace, which they dispatch'd so Honourably for the Interest of their State; 'tis from a Thousand almost *incredible Events*, wherewith Fortune exercis'd their Vertue; 'tis in that *Prudence* they manifested in their Councils, the *Maturity* of their Deliberations, *Diligence* in executing their Designs, their *Secrecy* and *Faithfulness* in the most important Affairs, and their *Resolution* in unavoidable Dangers, and the greatest Extremities. In short, every thing seems strange and wonderful in that admirable Design. The *Originals* of that State,

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which grew so mighty from so small beginnings, its *Progress*, its *Changes*, its Vicissitudes, the Revolutions of its Power and Greatness, its *Exaltation*, and almost inconceivable *pitch* of *Glory* it arriv'd to; by its patient enduring *Hardships*, by its Perseverance in *Labours*, by the exact Observation of *Laws*, by the inviolable Severity of its *Discipline* in the *Duties* of Peace and War, and by training up a well regulated and martial *Soldiery*, encourag'd and exalted with the only Thoughts and Prospect of *Aggrandizing* the *Roman Name*.

Thus then this *Design*, consider'd well in all its Circumstances, is the most glorious *Subject* *History* ever had. 'Tis a long *Train* of the *Adventures* of a People that being *scandalous*, as it was, in its *Origine*, coming of an *Extraction* in a manner *Infamous*, Born and Nurs'd in *plunderings* and *murders*, train'd up to *villanies*; became *wise*, *frugal*, *just*, passionately *studious* of *Glory*, *faithful* to its *Allies*, and professing *Uprightness* in all things. 'Tis the *Story* of the *Fate* and *Fortunes* of a *City*, that rais'd it self to universal *Empire*, and became the *Metropolis* of the whole *World*; from a *Troop* of *Vagabond Shepherds*, accidentally pack'd together upon the *Banks* of *Tiber*: 'Tis the *Conduct* of a *Government* wherein the *Observation* of a *rigid Discipline*, concurring with a *ready* and *faithful Obedience*, was had in greatest *Honour* and *Regard*; tho' the *Principles* thereof were very *lame* and *defective*. For the *Senate* of *Rome*, having subdu'd other *Nations*, could no longer suffer *Equivocations*, or *Disguises* in its *Consultations*: *Loose*, *unresolv'd*, *feeble*, *interested*, *dishonest Councils* were no more heard of. 'Twas a *Nation* that was *virtuous* through a *principal* of *Honour*; whose *Valour* was the

the Product more of the *Head*, than *Heart*; that courted or avoided Danger, from a *result* of Prudence; and knew as well when to expose it self, as when to retreat, by the *Dictates* of Reason; and obtain'd the *Sovereignty* over the rest of the World, more by the Reputation of its *Virtue*, than the Force of its *Arms*. This is the true Character of the *Romans*, whose History *Livy* undertook to write. And as nothing seems finer amongst all the works of Reason, than the Relation of a great Enterprize, happily conducted to a glorious End, through a thousand Obstacles and Oppositions: As nothing is so pleasant, as to see the Progress of that Conduct, through the successive Degrees of its Augmentation and Strength it gathers by little, and little from Poor, Mean, and Contemptible Beginnings; so nothing is more proper to be related, because it will appear agreeable in all its retail of Circumstances.

The History of a *People*, or a *Prince*, that is always *successful*, can never it self Succeed: It will have too much *Uniformity*; and nothing is more insipid in a Relation than too long a Prosperity, and a perpetual Success. There must be *Variety* of Events, Changes of Fortune, Contrariety of Adventures, all sorts of Objects that are fit to attract the Mind of the Reader, by their Diversity. And all this abounding in *Titus Livy's* History, far more than in any other, it is undoubtedly the most absolute Subject an *Historian* could have fallen upon. 'Twas from this View that *Livy* forthwith pitch'd upon it, as finding in it those favourable Advantages for his *Genius*, which he knew how to dispose of to their best Use, in the Execution of his Work. This Subject so Noble,

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ble, so Great, so Rich, through so many different Adventures it included, seem'd a *weight* not too *heavy* for his Shoulders. He found a means of confining himself in so Immense a Matter without lanching into *needless* Digressions, and Amplifications, as the generality of *Historians* do. The *Greatness* of his Subject, which he so well gave us to Understand, by his natural *Distrust*, in shewing only his own Weakness, and the Disproportion of his Strength, at the entry of his Work, did not at all discourage him; because he saw that *compass* it took in, as vast as it was, reduc'd to the *Unity* of a single State, whose Fortunes he describ'd. That *Darkness* likewise, and Uncertainty he found under the first Consuls, which perplex'd the Coherence of the Subject, in the Beginnings of the Republick, prevented not his Resolutions: For he knew how in those *Confusions* to do his part *sincerely*, not vouching any thing for *certain* but what he found to be *so*; and Doubting himself the first, of that which was Doubtful and Suspicious.

Besides that *strength* of *Genius* wh'ch he found capable of so great a Design, in the ordering and management of its Parts, in the just Proportions of an accomplish'd Piece; besides that thorough Understanding he had of his Subject, wherewith he had stor'd his Mind: The Knowledge he got of the World in *Augustus's* Court by his *acquaintance* with all the most accomplish'd Persons in the *Empire*; *Rome*, that *Magazine* of Virtue, that *Seat* of Grandeur and Majesty, as *Cicero* Styles it, began to furnish him with lofty *Ideas*, which he all along displays in the several places of his *History*: He began to polish himself in a *Court* the most *delicate* that ever was: Where all that had a *Genius* for Learning,

Roma Domus virtutis, imperii dignitatis, domicilium gloriae, lux orbis terrarum, &c.
Cic. de Orat.

Learning, had a most *exquisite* Palate for what ever was fine and excellent. He was Instructed by the *Commanders* that were about the *Emperour* in Military Discipline, in the Marches of Armies, Encampments, Sieges, and all that belongs to the *Art* of War, which is best understood by *practice*. He observ'd the *Humour* that prevail'd most in that *Court*, and the Taste of the People, who were become very Polite: He form'd himself upon all this, discovering by degrees infinite things, of which he had been altogether ignorant, without this Correspondence. The Familiarity he had with the *Twelve Tables*, which were contain'd in the *Fasti* of the *Capitol*, taught him the *Ancient Roman* manner of Life. The Succours he elsewhere hop'd to receive through the *Emperours* Favour, of having Memorials necessary for his History, and the Hopes his Friends gave him of their Assistance, encourag'd him to conquer the Wearisomness, and surmount the Uneasiness, which are the general Attendants of such tedious, and almost endless Undertakings.

But as soon as he had made all sufficient Preparations for his *Work*, and was assur'd of such Succours, and Encouragement, as he thought necessary for its Execution, he bade Farewel to all the World, that he might give himself wholly up to his Enterprize; having nothing in his Thoughts but the *Work* he was about, to which he Sacrificed his Fortune, his Pretensions, the Preferments he might hope for from his Princes Favour, and his own Merit; his Pleasures, his Hopes, his Ease, his all. And never *Author* had that Zeal and Industry, to accomplish what he had propos'd.

C H A P. V.

A Comparison of the History of Thucydides, with that of Livy.

THE Attempt of Comparing these two *Historians*, as to their Performances, and of drawing a just Parallel betwixt them, is so Rash, and so much above my Capacity, that I am so far from imagining, I shall be able to content the Publick in this Point, as to be sensible I can never satisfy my self in that particular. And I must confess, to speak sincerely, it is rather a *Project* of a *Comparison* of the two Works than a *Comparison* it self. But I hope this *Project* will suffice for my Design, which is to give the *Learned* leave to determine of the Preference of these two *Authors*, and their *Works*, by the Essay I shall make thereof, which can pass but for a very imperfect part of this Piece. Here is the Abridgment of *Thucydides*.

An Abridgment of Thucydides's History.

He begins his History with an Universal Notion he gives us of *Greece* in general, and with *Pelops's* Descent into *Peloponnesus*, (from whom it deriv'd its Name) after the War of *Minos*; thence he enters on his Matter, and so passes to the War of *Troy*. This is to ascend too high: And this *beginning* is not suitable, and proportion'd to the *Body* of the History, which is only a particular War betwixt *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*. However he had his Reasons wherewith to justify it; and that *exordium* is a kind of *Platform*, to represent the *state* of his Country, on which

which it was expedient for him to insist, to make it understood; he descends there, probably, to too many Particulars, which give us Reason to believe he more studied to satisfy the Inclination he had for his Country, than the taste of an indifferent Reader. He gives there too much Reins to his Carriere: For he might have reduc'd that long Digression into narrower Bounds, as not being altogether so necessary for the understanding his History as he imagin'd it. But he had a Mind to engage his Readers, by giving them great Matters, and to accustom them by little and little to embrace his Opinions, and Sense, by filling them with his Ideas. Notwithstanding one shall be hard put to it to forgive him the vast Excursion, where he immediately falls upon the *Trojan War*; as also, the Relation of the Transactions of *Greece* since that time, the different Adventures of the Country, the several Expeditions by Sea, the Trading of the City *Corinth*, that grew so rich by Commerce.

Hereupon indeed he enters upon a Narrative of the Advantages of the People of *Greece*, who became so Potent by Sea: Whence he passes to the several ways of building their Vessels and Gallies, and gives an Account of the Use of them. And that Narration tends directly to his Point; for these are the Preparatives of the War he is to describe. But methinks he has crowd'd too much Matter into his first Book, out of a desire of prefixing a too stately Portal to his History. He has not confin'd himself enough in assigning the several Reasons of the Breach of Treaty, betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, to give a very exact Account of the Causes of that War he undertook

undertook to write. He has not always so cleverly open'd the Particulars of that Affair, as his Subject demanded. But he has shewn himself profoundly skill'd in the different Interests of *Greece*: And the general Notion the *Historian* gives of the Forces of the Country, both by Sea and Land; the Description he adjoyns of the Ancient *Greeks*, and of those of his own Age; the Abridgment he makes of the *Persian War*, is an happy Beginning for his History, in as much as there is something Great in those Particulars.

But the Subject of the second Book becomes still more Material, by the *List* of the *Allies* who engag'd in that War, on both sides: For he reckons up almost all the *Common-wealths* of *Greece* one after another, which took contrary Parts, as they were dispos'd by their Interests and Relations to the two *Republicks*, *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, of which they were either *Allies* or *Favourers*. And the *Historian* bestirs himself here exceedingly, by reason of the different Embassies the several States deputed to each other, which put the whole Country in Ferment and Commotion by their Factions and Intrigues: And all this is still made Greater by the Art he has of Intercessing in that War, which at the bottom was but of small Moment, all the Countries of *Greece*, *Sicily*, and part of *Italy*, the *Generals* also of the *King of Persia*, who make all a grand Figure in that Expedition; and engaging, as one may say, *Heaven and Earth* and all the *Elements* in that Quarrel, to make it more considerable, through those prodigious Circumstances, of Eclipses, Earthquakes, Plagues, Famines, Mortalities, and other Prodigies, of which I have already spoken: And which he introduces in his History

to give a greater Idea of his Subject. It must be acknowledged the Wit of the Historian is very Apparent in that part: And that so *inconsiderable* a War as that of two *petty* Nations could never have been of much *importance*, but by means of that Pompous Retinue of Circumstances it came attended with. And herein he can never be sufficiently admir'd, whilst we reflect upon the Art he had of supporting a little Subject by Treating it in a Method great and noble.

He continues his Second Book with the Description of the Condition the Town of *Athens* was in, when the Enemy made a Descent into the Country, by *Oenoe* the first Frontier Garrison on the Coast of *Boeotia*, as also of the Havock *Archidamus* made about *Eleusine*; whence passing through *Acarne*, he came and posted himself within two Leagues of *Athens*: The Alarm being spread abroad, *Pericles*, who at that time had the Administration of Affairs, refus'd to convene the People, lest the Fright they were in should put them upon some Absurdity or Extravagance, through too much Weakness. He relates next the several Enterprizes of each People upon one another, without escaping any memorable Action, the rest of the Summer; as also the Funeral Solemnities the following Winter, paid to the Honour of those who were slain in this first Campaign; and he describes the Ceremonies thereof: wherein *Pericles*, who had advis'd the *War*, made an *Elegy* upon those who had lost their Lives in it. Probably never Man succeeded more happily than he in infusing Courage into the Living, by celebrating the Memory of the Dead, and setting before their Eyes the Glory of dying for their Country with their Swords in
band

hand, especially for a Country so Glorious in all things as was then the Commonwealth of *Athens*. There is nothing in that Discourse but is set off with all that Dignity, which shines so eminently in this Historian. The Description of the *Plague* in all its Particulars, which comes after, stands rightly placed, for the intermixing that Variety which is requisite to make a History taking.

The *Athenians*, crush'd almost at the same time with a *War* and *Pestilence*, which laid their Country desolate, began to murmur against *Pericles*, who hereupon assembled them, in order to encourage them, by justifying his Management. That *Harangue*, howsoever forcible, by those Masterly and Engaging Strokes he gave it, had but little Effect upon their Minds, who were sensible of nothing but their Misfortunes : he was discarded presently, and as suddenly restor'd. The Inconstancy of that People over whom he had gain'd all the Authority his Merit and Eloquence deserv'd, hastned his Death, which happen'd not long after. The *Encomium* the Historian makes upon that Great Man, affords us a very fine Idea of his Virtue : His Loss was none of the least Disgraces that fell on *Athens* in the second Campaign. For there being no one left behind of so Eminent a Quality to fill up his place ; his Successors, as *equal* perhaps in Merit, and *rivals* in Dignity, wanting sufficient Power to rein up a People with an *absolute* hand, were oblig'd for their Interests to manage them *remissly*, and to sooth and flatter them into Obedience.

After the Death of *Pericles* the posture of Affairs was more untoward than formerly. *Sicily* began to be in Commotion, and to arm
for

for *Lacedemon* : The Siege of *Platea* was form'd in *Bæotia*, the Assault was Vigorous, and the Defence as Resolute. That *Siege* describ'd at length in the Second Book, falls into a Blockade : Thence follows the Attempt of the *Athenians* upon *Chalcis*, to give a Diversion to the *Lacedemonians*, which occasion'd them to enter *Acarne*, to make themselves Masters of the Isles *Zacynthus* and *Cephalenia*, as also of *Naupactus*, in order to prevent the *Athenians* Sailing about *Peloponnesus*. But as perplex'd and embroil'd as Affairs were, through the Heat which was diffus'd in the Minds of the People, and their several Engagements with each other, in the End of the Second Book, they are cleared off by the Historian with that Easiness and Perspicuity, as renders that an Admirable Piece : The Naval Battel of the *Athenians* against the *Corinthians* at *Naupactus*, and that of the *Lacedemonians* against the *Athenians*, are describ'd in such a Retail of Circumstances as is wonderfully taking with the Reader. The Advantages they had over each other, being reciprocal ; there was an Endeavour on the Enemy's Side to surprize the *Pirean* Haven near *Athens*, which prov'd unsuccessful for want of due Measures in taking the Advantage of the Occasion.

This Book, and the Third Campaign, concludes with the *Thracian* War in *Macedonia*. Never History compriz'd so much Matter in so little Room, nor so much Action in so few Words. If any thing can be found fault with, 'tis that the Exploits are too *closely wound* with one another, so that the *Coherence* seems somewhat intricate and confus'd ; and that *multiplying* of Objects tends only to *dissipate* the Attention of the Reader.

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He begins the Third Book with the Revolt of *Lesbos* from the *Athenians*, and the Attempt of the *Athenians* upon *Mitylene*, which sent *Embassadors* to *Lacedemon* to demand Supplies. That Oration is so insinuating, and full of Artifice, that the *Lacedemonians* could no way resist it. *Mitylene* is receiv'd into the Alliance of *Peloponnesus*. The Harangue of *Cleon* upon the Affair of the Prisoners of *Mitylene*, which some were for putting to Death at *Athens*, of which Opinion he himself was; and that of *Diodotus* who was for having them pardon'd, are very strong and perswasive. *Platea* being at last surrendred up to the *Athenians*, that Town sent to justify its Conduct to *Lacedemon*. There are to be seen in the Discourse of that Embassy fine and curious Strokes of Eloquence; nothing can be more moving, or founded on more substantial Reasons, yet all to no Purpose: The *Plateans* sell a Sacrifice to the Revenge of the *Thebans*; which makes a notable Incident in the History. The Historian, taking the Hint from the Troubles of *Corcyra*, makes a Digression upon the Factions that grow in a State, and the Disorders that spring from them, which is a very good Lesson for *Governours*. That which follows of the Affairs of *Sicily*, the Warlike Exploits of the *Athenians* in that Country, their Defeat in *Etolia*; the *Lacedemonians* Attempt upon *Naupactus*; the Purification of the *Isle* of *Delos*, and the Description of that mysterious Ceremony perform'd by the *Athenians*, is express'd in a Noble, Great and Stately Manner.

The Author quits the War of *Peloponnesus* in the Fourth and Fifth Books, to enter upon the Affairs of *Sicily*, which occasion'd several Enterprizes upon *Megara*, *Bæotia*, *Thrace*; the
Battel

Battel of *Delia*, the taking of *Amphipolis*, *Thoronus*, and several Expeditions which are related in one and the same Strain. The Business of *Sicily* gave Birth to a Truce betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, whereupon was form'd a Treaty of Peace betwixt them, which lasted Seven Years: The Historian is here oblig'd to make a kind of an *Apology* to justify the Continuation of his History, pretending that League was broken and renew'd, done and undone several Times, that the War was never interrupted, that the Treaty was never put in Execution, by Reason of manifest Trespases; the *Lacedemonians* having never quitted *Amphipolis*, which their Articles oblig'd them to do. To speak Truth, that Treaty was never ratify'd by the Allies, which gave rise to several other Leagues amongst them, and many other Affairs. But all that Campaign was spent in Negotiations of Peace, which were put an End to, by the Battel of *Mantineia*, from which was dated the Renovation of the Alliance betwixt *Argos* and *Lacedemon*.

The Sixth Book is a large Digression upon the Wars of *Sicily*, which begins with a long Description of the Country, and the Founding of *Syracuse* by *Archias* the *Corinthian*. He shews a great deal of Ancient and far-fetch'd Learning in that Description, but it is not pleasant and agreeable; it is too remote from the main Subject, and falls not rightly in, unless it be that the *Sicilians* thought of coming to maintain the League of *Peloponnesus*. *Alcibiades's* Discourse to perswade the *Athenians* to a War with *Sicily*, and that of *Nicias* on the other Hand to dissuade them, are two of the chiefest Master-pieces of Eloquence in their kind. The Description of the *Athenian* Fleet, and all the

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Equipage of War, in their Preparations against *Syracuse*, is very handsome. *Alcibiades's* Oration to the *Lacedemonians* in his Banishment, advising them to send a Reinforcement into *Sicily*, that was attack'd by the *Athenians*, is a Piece of lofty, lively, strong, and generous Eloquence.

The Defeat of the *Athenians* at *Syracuse*, and the Description of the Battel, is the finest Part of the Seventh Book; nothing is better drawn, or more absolute, than the Picture the Historian makes of it: 'Tis handled throughout with abundance of Art and Mastery. The Destruction of the Power of the People of *Athens*, on Occasion of a Negotiation with *Alcibiades*, who had thrown himself into the Hands of *Tisaphernes*, Lieutenant-General of the King of *Persia*, because he had interfer'd with the *Lacedemonians*, who receiv'd him in his Banishment, is describ'd in this Book particularly enough. He was fought to in his Disgrace for an Accommodation, which he disdain'd to hearken to, but upon Condition the People should not be consulted; only the Officers of the King of *Persia*, who were Honourable Gentlemen: The Reluctance he shew'd in exposing himself to the Inconstancy and Humours of the People, occasion'd the Destruction of *Democracy*; which is very well open'd and related.

The Digression upon the Change of Government in *Athens* and *Samos*, where it was attempted to bumble the too excessive Power of the People, has very little Relation to the principal Design of the History, which is the War of *Peloponnesus*: And this last Book is generally very confus'd, and has nothing finish'd; which has given Reason to some Critics to think *Thucydides* was not the Author. This is the
Abridg-

Abridgment of his History. Now for that of *Titus Livy*, that we may make the Parallel.

There is nothing that can give us a better *An A-*
Notion of the difference betwixt these *two A-*bridgment
thors, than the different Ways of Writing they *of Livy's*
have taken. For *Livy* takes a Course quite *History.*

contrary to that of *Thucydides*. The Entrance
to this History is great, suitable to the Great-
ness of his Subject, but it is modest and hum-
ble; it may be said too not to want Simplici-
ty, though it is Pompous and Majeftick. With
what admirable Discretion does he introduce *Quæ ante*
that ancient Tradition, which makes *Aeneas*, *conditam*
the first Parent of *Rome*, of a Divine Descent. *urbem poe-*
He treats it as a *Fable* that he would neither *ticis deco-*
maintain nor *overthrow*, intimating there is *ra Fabulis*
so much Deference and Respect to be paid to *ea nec af-*
Antiquity, as to give *her* leave to mingle some- *firmare, nec*
thing *Divine* with *Human* Affairs, to recommend *animo est.*
the Originals of Cities and Empires, as more *Hist. Rom.*
august, and venerable to Mankind by such a *l. 1.*

Mixture. He hence descends to something of
a more solid Consideration; and to give us an
Idea of his Work, He begins it with an Elogy
upon the Virtue and Probity of the People
whose History he is writing, yet still prefer-
ring himself from being blinded with Self-love,
and carried away with the Inclination a Man
naturally has for his own Country. For he
scruples not to give you their ill Qualities as
well as their good; that is, the Remissness as
well as Severity of the *Roman* Manners; but
without any Prepossession of Interest or Pas-
sion, and with all the Prudence in the World.
That Beginning of the History, where the Au-
thor fetches the Origin of *Rome* quite from the
Destruction of *Troy*, and the whole Pedigree
of the *Kings* of *Alba*, is in it self a little cum-

Debeatur
satis tanta
origo urbis,
maximiq;
secundum
deorum o-
pes imperii.
Hist. Rom.
l. 1.

bred and confus'd, both in the Words and Things, and has a Style that has hardly any thing Great in it. One may see the Author avoided Flashing at the first: The things he speaks are great, but his way of speaking is low and humble; and there is much Artifice in that Entrance, which the Author debases on purpose to shew that the Beginnings of the Roman Grandeur were but small, and the better to observe the Progress of that State. He however fails not to relieve the *Destiny* of that Empire, from the Nobleness of its Extraction, deducing it from the God *Mars*, whom he makes the Father of *Romulus*.

The haughty and fiery Temper of *Romulus* is finely drawn, but the Picture of his Successor *Numa*, and his Government, makes that Founder of *Rome* seem more haughty than he really is: That Opposition is very advantagious in those two Characters. The Fierceness of the first, however softened it seems by the Religion of the second, is set off the more by that kind of Contrast, which is pleasanter in *History* than in *Painting*. Those petty Battels under the first *Kings*, and kinds of Apprenticeships, the *Roman* People observ'd in War against their Neighbours, are heightened by the Expression of the *Historian*, who can, when he pleases, animate little Things with an Air of Grandeur. The Engagement of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the Decision of the Fate of *Rome* and *Alba*, is an Adventure that beautifies all that Part; for 'tis admirably related. The *Expulsion of Kings*, which is the greatest Event in the two first Ages of *Rome*, is render'd more remarkable by *Lucretia's* Exploit, who stab'd her self before her Husband's Face, for having been dishonour'd by young *Tarquin*; and the making

making that Circumstance the most material in that Revolution, recommends the Relation more effectually to the Reader, interesting his Affection, by so surprizing an Adventure. All the Consequences of that Revolution become more considerable by a Foundation so Solid, and of so great a Lustre.

Scavola's Attempt is painted in the Second Book, with all the Colours so Great, Heroick, and Extraordinary a Design is capable of. The Love of his Country, to which that Design ow'd its Conception; the Contempt of Life, upon which it was form'd; the Proposition that *Gallant Gentleman* offer'd the *Senate* in ambiguous Terms, that so he might merit their Approbation, without incurring Disgrace; that Undauntedness of Action, and Resolution of Soul, and Courage in revenging on himself the Miscarriage of his Blow; all is of that Spirit and Elevation as is hardly to be parallel'd. And 'tis impossible a Description of a like Enterprize should be supported with more astonishing Circumstances, with more disdainful Language, or greater Sentiments. *Porfenna* King of *Clusium*, who was besieging *Rome*, amaz'd at so prodigious an Instance of Valour, demanded Peace of the *Romans*; and that Peace was the Product of so desperate an Undertaking. But finally, that Probity he attributes to a People grown fierce and untractable by the constant Practice of Arms; that *Justice* and *Clemency* they exercis'd in the very *Pride* and Height of their Victories; that *Love* of *Glory* he ascribes to them; that Noble *Pride* from whence he draws their principal Character; that Greatness of Soul, and Loftiness of Thoughts, the Dignity of the *Roman* Name inspir'd them with; the Ingenuity of the *Se-*

nate in its Suffrage, instanc'd in their taking Generals from the Plough: That Spirit of Wariness, Frugality, Innocence and Equity, so much practis'd, and had in Honour, in the raw and unpolish'd Beginnings of the Commonwealth; The publick Spiritedness of *Brutus*, who sacrific'd his Children to the Safety of his Country: The Poverty of *Curius*, who, after he had enrich'd the Republick with the Spoils of the Enemy, had not wherewith to bury him: Moreover those Grand Maxims, engrav'd in all Hearts, truly *Roman*, never to brook Disgrace: The Resolve of the Senate after the Defeat, by *Hannibal* at *Canna*, never to hearken to a Proposal of Peace. Those Ideas of Equity, intimately impress'd on their Minds; that great Sense of Honour, Fidelity, Love of their Country, and Liberty: Their incomparable Knowledge in the Art of War; the Severity of preserving the Laws of War in their utmost Extent: That invincible Patience in Dangers and Hardships; and all those other Virtues wherewith the *Author* has stor'd his *History*, in innumerable Examples, are the most usual Strokes he gives for the compleating of their Character. This was the Spirit that reign'd in the Commonwealth in those troublesome Times, when the Power of the first Consuls was balanc'd by the Institution of *Tribunes*, to bear up the People against the Encroachments of the *Nobles*.

After the Second *Carthaginian* War, and the Defeat of *Hannibal*, the taking of *Numantia*, the Conquests of *Sicily*, and all *Greece*, we may observe other Sort of Manners, and a quite different Spirit introduc'd in the Republick, through that abundant Prosperity their Arms brought in. Politeness, and Love of Genteel

Genteel Art, and Delicacy of Palate, and the Study of Learning began to be establish'd in Rome, and to give quite another Countenance, Mode, and Lustre to the Government, which the Historian has admirably laid open in all its Circumstances. The Second Part also that remains of his History, or rather the Two last Decades, are incomparably better than the First. For as to the Second, which contains the Succession of Wars against the *Samnites*, against the People of *Etruria* and *Lucania*; against the *Gauls*, against King *Pyrrhus*, against the *Tarentines*; the first *Punick* War made by *Attilius Regulus*, and that against the rest of the People of *Italy*, we can say nothing of, since all that Decade is intirely lost.

Finally, *Scipio* and *Laelius*, who were the perfectest Models of that Politeness which was, through the Study of Learning, set up at Rome, and who were themselves the worthiest Gentlemen of the *Republick*, compleated the Perfection of that State, already so far advanc'd; causing the Love of *Eloquence* and *Poetry*, and all *Arts* and *Sciences* to flourish in it; and 'twas by their Example, and the Converse and Familiarity with the *Greeks*, which the *Romans* had just Conquer'd, that they Civiliz'd themselves, utterly banishing out of their Republick that rude, surly and unmannerly Carriage, their constant dealing in Arms had introduc'd. 'Twas then this Victorious People began to Plume it self upon the Notion their Prosperity and Success had inspir'd them with, that they were born to be *Lords* and *Governours* of the rest of the World. And from thence it was that the Love of Liberty, and the Thirst of Glory so much possess them: This is the Image *Livy* gives us of them after the
Second

Second *Punick* War, and during the Third; these are the principal Ingredients of their Character. For Plenty had not as yet debauch'd the Minds of a People, Vertuous upon so good Principles, as the *Romans* were. There runs through the whole Character of *Scipio*, who was at the Head of Affairs, a Spirit of Religion, which shews that Vertue alone was in greater Reputation at *Rome* than ever; one need only see the Air the Historian makes him speak with, in his *African* Voyage; the Discourse he makes in the Twenty ninth Book in his Departure from *Sicily*, abounds with all the Sense of Piety, an honest Man is capable of. *Cato* gives his Voice in the *Senate* against the Luxury and Dress of Women, in the Thirty fourth Book, with the same Rigour he would have done in *Plato's Imaginary Republick*. Every thing favours of Vertue, both in the People, and in the *Senate*: And nothing better manifests the Spirit, wherewith the *Senate* govern'd the *Republick* at that time, than the Verdict it pass'd upon the two *Ambassadors* *Marcus* and *Attilius*, Commission'd to the King of *Persia*; who gave some uneasy Suspensions to the *Romans*, as being a Man of Courage and Understanding. They said, in accounting for their Negotiation, they had amuz'd that Prince with the Proposals of a Treaty, and the Hope of a Peace; that they had thereby prevented him from making Warlike Preparations, and took off his Allies from making their necessary Preparatives, and putting themselves in readiness. The young *Senators* had nothing to object to their Proceedings, which seem'd novel to those who had grown Grey in the Government, and were highly disapprov'd by the *Ancient Sages*; who alleged, it was not

Marcus & Attilius Romani cum venissent & nulla re magis gloriarentur quam decepto per inducias & spem pacis Rege Perseo. Hist. Rom. lib. 42. Veteres & moris antiqui memores negabant se in ea legatione Romanas agnoscere artes, ut astu magis quam vera virtute gloriarentur. Hist. Rom. lib. 37.

these Methods their *Ancestors* arriv'd to the Sovereignty of the World: But by *Virtue* alone, and Fidelity towards their Enemies, no less than that they exercis'd towards their *Friends*. Insomuch that that Sort of Disguise, and Trick- ing, which had a Tendency to Treachery, were ever held as a Means not to be practis'd, and Paths their Probity and Vertue knew not how to tread in.

Moreover nothing is more bright and dazzling in this History, than the Idea *Livy* gives us in the Fourth Decade, and in the Beginning of the Fifth, of the Dignity and Power of the Senate, which was grown the absolute Master of the Republick; all things stood to its Resolves, and submitted to its Orders. If King *Antiochus* restores to *Scipio* his Son, whom he had taken Prisoner, and petitions him for a Peace, *Scipio* answers, in Capacity of a *Private* Person and a *Father*, That nothing in the World could more Oblige him to it than the Present he had made him of his Son; but in Quality of a *Roman*, and *General* of the Troops of the Republick, he could no ways grant the Peace he demanded; for that lay only in the Breast of the *Senate*. And after the Defeat of *Perseus*, the Senate grew so absolute, that all stoop'd to its *Authority*, Consuls, Generals, Armies were obedient to it. The Ambassadors of *Antiochus* King of Syria, *Ptolemy* King of Egypt, and *Cleopatra* his Sister, make it the *Umpire* of their Quarrels. King *Massinissa* sends his two Sons to *Rome*, to Complement the *Senate* from him, upon their Defeat of King *Perseus*. *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* dispatches his Son *Nicomedes* to *Rome*, to put him under the Protection of the *Senate*: But how must the *Historian* treat the People of that

Postis jam adversus omnes mortales certaminibus haud secus quam Deos consulere, & parcere vos generi humano oportet.
Hist. Rom. lib. 37. Maximo semper animo victis regibus populisque ignoratis, quanto magis vos animo de- cet facere in hac Victoria que vos Dominos orbis terrarum facit.

that Republick, whereof that King styles him-
 self a *Freed-man*, glorying in so magnificent a
 Title; and whose Clemency *Antiochus's* Am-
 bassadors (who came to beg Peace of *Scipio*)
 implor'd, as if it had been from the Gods
 themselves: If, say these Ambassadors, out of
 a Greatness of Soul you have pardon'd those Kings
 and People you have vanquish'd, what ought you
 not to do in that Victory which makes you Masters
 of the World? And this was it that made this
 Pleople, in their Victories, take upon them
 the glorious Title of Deliverer of other Na-
 tions. To conclude, nothing is so great and
 Majestick as the Image the Historian gives us
 of the Republick in those happy Times. There
 you may see King *Persens* chain'd to the Chariot
 of *Paulus Emilius*, to enhance the Glory of
 the Triumph. Next is to be seen *Gentius* King
 of *Illyricum*, with his Wife and Children van-
 quish'd by the Pretor *Anicius*, and led Captive
 along the Streets of Rome. There are the
 Ambassadors of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and
 of his Brother *Eumenes*, in Posture and Quality
 of *Supplicants* before the Senate of the People.
 Thus possibly never Historian had so great a
 Subject, nor supported the Grandeur of it bet-
 ter by the Dignity of Expression, and Lofti-
 ness of Idea's: See then the End of what we
 have remaining of *Livy's* History. For after
 follow the Successful and Victorious Times of
Sertorius, who subdued Spain; of *Pompey*, who
 subjected to the Republick *Mitridates*, *Tigranes*,
Armenia, *Cicily*, and the other Provinces of
Asia; and of *Cæsar* who Triumph'd over the
Belgians, the *Gauls*, and most part of the Nor-
 thern People, as *Pompey* had over those of *Asia*.
 This is then the Abridgment, or rather the
 Extract of *Livy's* Roman History, which it was
 necessary

necessary to reduce into this Form, the better to apprehend the Nature of it; and thus this History is preferable to that of *Thucydides*, because it represents a mighty Design carried on by regular Methods to the top of its Perfection, and a Republick grown up to be *Mistress* of the *Universe*, from so small and inconsiderable a Foundation: But now let us observe the Imperfections and Beauties of these two Histories: That which is still behind, for the Accomplishment of the Comparison.

C H A P. VI.

A Comparison of the Faults of the two Historians.

TIS a very bold Undertaking to enquire into the Failures of so accomplish'd Authors as *Thucydides* and *Livy*: For, to find fault with those which a Man sets up for Models and Exemplars, is to destroy what he would establish, and undermine the Credit of that he desires to Confirm. Besides that, it seems unmannerly to Criticise upon these two Great Men, when Antiquity recommends them to us as the Perfectest and most Absolute of all others. But as nothing is more Essential to a Man than to *err* and slip sometimes; and those who pretend to be most *Infallible*, have their Faults; I presume the Criticisms I shall make upon these two *Historians*, will make not a little for their Praise; and that the World will be better satisfy'd of their Excellence, when I have examin'd their Faults, which may serve

to

Dionys.
Halicarn.
ad *Ælium*
Tuberon.
Num. 3.

Thucyd.
Failings.

to set off the Greatness of their Merit. For 'tis not so much by *avoiding* Faults, as by a *direct* Tendency to his Point, without any Deviation, that an Author shews himself: He that proceeds in the directest Line, and wanders out of his Way the least, as does *Thucydides*, is the most accomplish'd in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* Opinion. Let us see what it is wherein *Thucydides*'s History may be reprehended.

He is not so Fortunate in the Management of his Subject, as in the Invention, which all ways bottoming upon a great Fund of Reason never fails him. He often confounds his Subject by Anticipating, or else Suspending, or lastly Interrupting his Narrations, which break off the Course of the History, and dissipate the Mind of the Reader, by the Multitude of Objects that present themselves. For instance in the Third Book he begins a Matter relating to the *Mitylenians*, add before he has finish'd it he skips to an Expedition of the *Lacedemonians*. From that Expedition, which he leaves Imperfect, he undertakes a Relation of the Siege of *Platea*; which he abandons, to return again to the *Mitylenians*. And upon their Account he touches upon something of a Sedition happening at *Corcyra*, wherein the People divide themselves, some siding with *Athens*, and some taking the Part of *Lacedemon*. Thence he passes to the Business of *Sicily*, and again pursues other Affairs without concluding any. And the whole Book is stuffed with such a Multitude of Matters, and so different from one another, that a Man is quite lost, and can never be able to discover the Natural Thread of the Principal History. And this is one kind of Fault in a Narration, which should ever have Union and Connexion, and be still endeavouring

labouring at the Scope it proposes; that so it may fix and determine the Mind of the Reader to the same Object, without offering any thing to disingage him from it.

Again, 'tis pretended he has not Explain'd so clearly as he might have done, the Cause of the War he goes to write: *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* is of Opinion, he has not given the true one; at least, that he has mingled together with the true one (which was the *Lacedemonians* Jealousie of the too great Power of the *Athenians*) other Causes which are not true. Undoubtedly he is somewhat Dark in that Place. The Occasion of that War is much finer Explain'd in the Life of *Pericles* in *Plutarch*; where the Author makes it appear, that it was *Pericles* who first Inspirited the *Athenians*, by the frequent Embassies he advised them to Depute, in order to persuade all *Greece* to enter into a Confederacy against the King of *Persia*; which gave the *Lacedemonians* Reason to suspect them: For thereby *Athens* gave itself a considerable Regard which it never had before, and by that Distinction seem'd to take a kind of Preheminence above all other People.

That large Amplification upon the different Characters of the People of *Greece* in the Proem, their several Expeditions, which he drives up as high as the *Trojan* War; the Luxury of the *Athenians*, which he is too curious in Describing, talking even of their Curling their Hair: What he says of the Modesty and Frugality of the *Spartans*, and what he adds concerning one *Aminocles*, a *Corinthian*, who first taught the Art of Building Ships; and such other loose and unconnected Matters he treats of as a Preface to his History, are nothing to his Purpose in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*'s

his's Opinion. He thinks he might have let all that alone, and having enter'd on his Subject without making so great a Ramble from his Design: He concludes likewise, that his History has for its Subject not only the War of *Peloponnesus*, but all the Affairs of *Greece*; for he brings in the Enterprizes of the *Athenians* in *Chalcis*, the Breakings in of the *Thracians* into *Macedonia* in the Second Book, the War of the *Leontines*, and the Concerns of *Sicily* in the Third Book: And thus he seeks out Matters that are Foreign, because his own Subject is unable to furnish him with a Variety enough out of it self, which is the Reason there is so little Accord and Union in his Work. There are two Wars, one of *Peloponnesus*, and the other of *Syracuse*, without any Reference to, or Connexion with one another.

That Celebrated Funeral Oration in the Second Book, which he makes *Pericles* to speak, is neither Agreeable, nor Proportion'd to the Occasions and Persons that it concerns; and the *Historian* himself confesses, that Affair had nothing Memorable in it, in Respect of that which he describes in the Fourth Book, under *Demosthenes* near *Pylus*; where the *Athenians* were Routed both by Sea and Land: And those who fell, Signalliz'd themselves much more than in the former Defeat, in which only a few of the *Cavalry* were slain; and all the Circumstances of the former Battel, have nothing comparable to the other, which he slightly passes over unregarded. But that the *Historian* might add greater Weight and Moment to his Discourse, he puts it into the Mouth of *Pericles*, who indeed was *alive* at the first Expedition, but was *dead* at the second; in which a little Fault may be found with the Sincerity of the

the Author, so Celebrated elsewhere for his Integrity: He is Upbraided too for his so long and frequent *Harangues*, and for having so little Variety. It is true, the Number of them is great; but since the Humour of *Athens* and *Lacedemon* was to have every thing done by Haranguing, whilst the People were in Power, he must unavoidably Harangue them, since they would have it so. After all, the *Historian* knows how to abate the Heat of his Eloquence, when he divests himself of the Orator, and puts on the Historian.

The *Athenians* dejected by their Losses, and the Waste the Plague had made in their Country, having the first dispatch'd a famous Embassy to demand a Peace of the *Lacedemonians*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* blames the *Historian* for passing so considerable a Point so superficially over; and reprehends him for not so much as naming the *Ambassadors*, (which seem'd very Material in that War, through so considerable an Alteration in their Characters;) nor making mention of one Title of the Embassy: He that at other times would diligently Court every Occasion, to Introduce *Towns* and *States*, Discourfing by so frequent Deputations. It is certain he is guilty of a little Negligence in so notable an Opportunity, where he might have made his Country speak so fine Things, and have added more Renown to his History, by the Talent he had of Haranguing so excellently well.

I Omit several other Places *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* dislikes in this Author; because he runs into an Excess, over-straining his Criticisms through a Spirit of Animosity, against that *Historian*, whose Reputation he endeavours to lessen, that he may with more Ease

set up *Herodotus* against him, who was his Country-man, wherein his Procedure has a Tincture of Partiality; not but that he had just Reason for it in many Particulars, but he had not in all. He is frequently too rigidly Censorious, so that it is necessary to Correct Spleen, at least not to be carried away with it without Examination. These following are the other Faults the generality of the Learned find with *Thucydides*. He leaves too much to his Reader's *Conjecture*, whether for want of Care to Explain himself clearly, or whether through an Earnestness to Express things nobly, he does it in fewer Words; by which he often falls into such *Obscurities*, as the whole World can never reach his Meaning, because his Sense is as it were choaked with the multitude and force of his Images, which he crowds into his Expression. But by that *affected Loftiness* that every where abounds in him, he without Scruple over-bears all the *Rules* and *Decency* of Construction; which he seems very little to Regard, provided he can express himself with the more Grandeur. 'Tis also through the self-same Principle, that the *Figures* he makes use of, are for the most part violent; that the *Colours* he Paints things in, are too strong; that his *Strokes* are too deep; that he has a *Theatrical Air* diffus'd through his Discourse, by means of Expressions, that sound tragically, and of a *Character* not much different from that which *Pindar* took by his too much following *Eschylus*; that the Historians which preceded him, were more careful of Expressing things plainly; that he is too *Figurative* in his Speech; that he affects an *uncouth ancient* Way, in Words worn out of use, or *Inauthentic*; that there is nothing of *Sweetness* in his Express-

Expression ; that he *cannot* Paint a thing with any *Softness* ; that his Discourse is Disagreeable ; that he was utterly unacquainted with those Graces and Charms his Predecessor *Herodotus* so well understood : and that in fine, by the natural Prosperity of his *Genius*, he runs into a dryness of Style, which renders his Discourse harsh and impoverish'd.

There are those who push their Criticisms farther still ; pretending he has not sufficient care to search into the *bottom* of Things ; that he is too *Superficial* ; that he *simply* relates Transactions, without giving us the *Reasons* of them, or explaining the Motives that led to them : They add, there is no *Turn* in his Periods, no *Harmony* in the Cadence, no *Agreeableness* in the Words, no *Fineness* in his Discourse : That there is very little *Variety* in his Harangues ; that there are perpetual Embassies, wherein are large Discourses, excellent indeed, but *too prolix*, and too studied : 'Tis thought he took that Method from *Homer*, who to make his Narration the more Lively, makes those, he introduces in his Poem, talk Everlastingly. The Dialogue he makes between the *Athenians* and the *Melians*, upon their different Interests, in the Fourth Book of his History, has something of the Nature of a *Dramatick Poem*, where things are Play'd by several Persons that are introduc'd ; for which there is no Precedent in any History, which ought to be united, and continued in a Thread, without Interruption : In short, this is not suitable to *Thucydides's* Character of Simplicity. 'Tis suppos'd too, that he makes the *Greeks* have more Courage than Strength : Their Ability is not answerable to their Pride ; and one cannot always have an Opinion of their Merit great

enough to support that presumptuous Arrogance he puts into their Character. For their warlike Exploits went no farther often, than the Plundering a Village, or Overturning the side of a Wall: He is a little deficient too, by giving petty things more stress than they can well bear, and in not giving the greater so much Weight as they require.

Besides that, the Distinction he makes of the Campaigns, by the Seasons, is not always neat enough; it is moreover tedious, because he is oblig'd to use the same Terms, and the same Transitions, which cause a Disagreeableness in a Discourse: And by too scrupulous and superstitious an Adherence to his Method, he leaves his Matter unfinish'd, and his Narrations interrupted. Others carp at I know not what Abstruseness of Style, that wants a little Clearing. I pass by that Digression in his Eighth Book, upon the Change of the Government in *Athens* and *Samos*, when there was a necessity of Curb-ing the Power of the People, who abus'd their Authority, and carried things to an Excess of dangerous Consequence to the State. The Criticks have not, without good Reason, reflected on the too great Length of that Digression, for the little Relation it has to the principal Design. The Reconciliation of *Alcibiades*, with the People of *Athens*, who had Banish'd him, without declaring the Reason why; and how he broke with the Republick, and was reconcil'd again; which is a Subject of the same Book, is methinks a little Defective. Something more had been due to so considerable a Man: Many other of the like Faults are to be met with in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, whom it is but turning to, to find them.

Thucydides and Livy.

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But for my own part, if I thought the Failings that are laid to the Charge of Great Men, were to their Dishonour, I could easily vindicate *Thucydides* in the greatest part of those they Object against them. I could say he was possess'd with so high a Notion of the *Sublime Style*, that he affected it in all things; that all besides seem'd inconsiderable, even so far, as to trample on the most common Rules of Grammar, by the change of Tenses, Numbers, Genders and Persons; provided he could thereby exalt his Expression, and add more heat and vehemence to his Discourse: I could maintain, that the little Connexion there is in some of his Narrations, is more the fault of his Subject, than his Understanding. For at the Bottom, the War he describes, has nothing in it of a continued and premeditate Design: One shall not see any Enterprize regularly form'd, well contriv'd, and well executed: 'Tis all tumultuously Transacted, according to the different Movements, or Passions of the People engag'd in the War. And 'twere easie to make an Apology for the Author, in his other Faults imputed to him, if a Man would have the Patience to Reflect, that he was only Careless in some things to add greater Perfection to others, which he thought of more Importance. For it was often on the account of Elevating his Style, and writing Majestically, that he over-look'd some little Negligences he has been Reproach'd with. Thus I would take care to excuse those Faults of his, by which he arriv'd to so great Perfection.

As for *Livy*, he has been more Happy than *Thucydides*, in that he has not fallen into the Hands of so morose a Critick, as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*: And that Antiquity has ever had

The Faults of Livy.

Livium ut
verbosum
in Historia
& negli-
gentem car-
pebat. Suet.
de Calig.
*Poet. c. 2.
l. 2. de
Conf. Hist.

so great a Deference to his Merit ; upon which no one has so impertinently Criticiz'd as on other Authors, of as establish'd a Reputation as himself. But since nothing is so Absolute, but some Men will find fault with, take what they Reprehend in this Historian. 'Tis said that his Style is too *diffusive*, and that by his continual *Amplifications* he wants that *vigour* and *strength* which is admirable in *Thucydides*. And they are * *Beny* and *Bodin* in particular who find the most to Carp at ; since they judge not of *Livy* by the general Consideration of his Work, which demands Grandeur. He may be censur'd for that *extent* of his *Style*, but that Fault is readily pardon'd, if it be a Fault, upon Consideration, that 'tis only that *Diffuseness* that makes him Statelily and Majestick, The Dignity of his Design, and the Nobleness of his Thoughts required a copious Style, and 'tis in that this Author's Majesty principally consists.

It must be own'd, he is sometimes Obscure, as well as *Thucydides* ; but there is no necessity of absurdly troubling ones Head to understand him all ; for there are many Places in him which are, in their own Nature, Difficult : As the Explication of Ceremonies, Customs and Matters of Fact ; of which we have neither any Knowledge, nor Idea. He affects too, the usage of very ancient *Latin* Words which now are Obsolete ; and he has peculiar ways of speaking, unknown to the other Authors, and only proper to himself. Besides all this, 'tis probable he has been Corrupted in many places, whether by those who were the first Copyers, or by the ancient Editions ; whether by the Moderns, or by the false Conjectures of unskilful Criticks ; who pretending

to correct him, where they have not understood him, have quite spoil'd what they would have mended ; so that we are far from having *Livy*, such as he was at first. *Turbenius* will have *Sigonius* to be the only Man amongst the *Criticks*, who has us'd him well, and set him best to rights.

There are those who disapprove some bold Expressions and Thoughts he has, whereby he over-leaps the Bounds of Modesty, to which he is a great Pretender. I confess, he sometimes ventures such sort of Sallies, but always with the greatest Prudence ; for as much as he knows how to make good use of them in the moving part of his Discourse, wherein nothing succeeds better than that which is least contriv'd. That too great Inclination of observing nicely, whatever he found Monstrous in his way, and attributing the Reasons of it to supernatural Causes, as to the Anger of the Gods, smells strongly of the Heathen, somewhat too Superstitious. *St. Gregory the Great* taxes him with this Fault, in *Casaubon's* Preface to *Polybius*, being persuaded he only intermix'd these *Prodigies* in his History, to authorize his *Religion* ; which I fancy was less in his Thoughts than the seeking Variety, to enliven the Dulness and Melancholly of his Narrations. That *rustical Air*, *Asinius Pollio* finds fault with in his Author, which has given occasion for the Niceties and different Opinions of the *Criticks*, is in my Judgment only an ill Pronunciation that sounded a little Country like, and was offensive to the Courtiers, accusom'd to all the Delicacy of *Augustus's* Court : at least it is the Sentiment of *Quintilian*, who was too piercing a Wit himself, and too near a Neighbour

In Tito
Livio mi-
re facun-
diæ viro

putat inesse Pollio quandam Patavinitatem : quare si fieri potest verba omnia & vox hujus alumnum urbis oleant, ut oratio Romana plane videatur non civitate donata. lib. 8. c. 1.

bour of those Times to be ignorant of the Mystery, which he wholly imputes to the Pronunciation.

Others assure us he was not exact enough in furnishing himself with Instructions, by diving to the bottom of his Subject ; that he only wrote from the *Memoirs* of the Conquerors, who had undoubtedly suppress'd what made for their Disadvantage, and that he has not justly distinguish'd one from the other. They add, that if *Livy* had been at the same Expence to purchase the *Memorials* of *Carthage*, as *Thucydides* to obtain those of *Lacedemon*, he had not expatiated so largely upon the Glory of the *Roman People* : He would doubtless have found some Particulars where to have done more Justice to *Hannibal* and his *Republick* than he did. For opposing *Rome* and *Carthage*, as two Cities *Rivals* in Glory, it lay upon him to display the Grandeur, Riches and Power of the *Carthaginian* Government, and he had done more Honour to his Country by extolling the Merit of those who disputed with it the Empire of the World.

Some Men blame him for taking the main Instructions of his first Decades from the ancient *Origins* of *Rome*, which are full of Forgeries, and scarce have any thing else but Fabulous Traditions ; since the Use of *Annals* was but of a late Date in that *Republick*, as *Sigonius* observes. Moreover *Mascardi*, in his Treatise on History, lays much Negligence to the Charge of this Author, for not having open'd the greatest Events in all their Circumstances, especially

especially such as were principally necessary to the understanding the Importance of Affairs; which are found elsewhere, as in *Appian*, and other less exact *Historians*. But let us see the Faults of *Livy* more in particular.

He is obscure in some Places of his Beginnings, as for Example, in the Line of Descent of the *Kings* of *Alba*, which he has not unravell'd plain enough. The *Revelation* of *Romulus*, after his Death, that *Rome* should become the *Capital* City of the World, and all the Particulars of that Apparition, seen by *Proculus*, and which he related to the People, has something so Enthusiastick in it, that one is amaz'd an Author, of so solid a Character, should suffer such a Story to pass, without giving it a more plausible Turn; yet he relies upon it, and gives it not out for a Tale or a Fable. The Adventure of *Lucretia*, as wondrous as it is, is not so admirably put together, there is something wanting to its Probability; a Man knows not upon what Grounds she kills herself. If she has suffer'd Violence, why does she punish her self since she cou'd not resist it? Why would she not die before she was Ravish'd? Is it *Modesty* or *Vanity*, is it *Wisdom* or *Despair*, is it *Love* of *Vertue* or *Glory*, that makes her stab her self? All things rightly consider'd, one knows not what it is. If she could not open her Eyes at the Horrour of her Condition, her Virtue is either too nice or too *Self-interests'd*: in short, that wants a little Neatness. And *St. Austin*, who examines that Action, in all its Circumstances, in the Nineteenth Chapter of his Book *De Civitate Dei*, has much ado to discover what his Thoughts are of it. Is not that Audaciousness of *Celia* too, a little Extravagant? and considering the Make of *Tyber*,
was

was it a thing Practicable? could a Maid, naturally Timorous, ever think of attempting so dangerous a Passage in a River that has Brinks almost inaccessible? For though *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* agrees with *Livy*, in the Description of that Adventure, *Val. Maximus* expounds it in a manner that looks much more probable.

'Tis pretended also, that the Historian shews too much Partiality in the Ninth Book of the first *Decade*, in the Comparison he makes of *Alexander* with the *Romans*, in Point of Valour: He seems to divest himself too much of the Character of an *Historian* in that place, impertinently to play the *Declaimer*; giving the Preference to his *Country-men* before the *Conquerour of Darius*, upon uncertain Conjectures, and without examining the Matter any farther than by extravagant Suppositions, and a List of *Consuls* which the Common-wealth of *Rome* had set up in Competition with him. *Tacitus* reproaches *Livy* with the same Fault, in respect of *Pompey*, for whom he was too partial against *Cæsar*; which *Augustus* objected to him without taking it amiss: On the contrary he commends him, for that instead of *flattering* the Victorious Party in the Civil War, he could not prevail with himself to *condemn* those Worthy Gentlemen, who were engag'd on *Pompey's* side.

Cn. Pompejum tantis laudibus extulit Livius, ut Pompejanum Augustus appellaret. Tacit. An. lib. 4.

That Train of Affairs, of *Philip King of Macedon*, is spun out to such a Length in the Fortieth Book, the Intrigues of his Family, the Adventures of *Theoxena*, a Princess of *Thessaly* and her Children; the Cruelty of the King; the Quarrels of *Demetrius* and *Perses* his Two Sons; and all that Retinue of Circumstances relating to that Monarch, seems of an Extent disproportion'd

disproportion'd to the principal Subject of the History, which an exact *Historian* should always keep in view : And that long Digression has, methinks, something Foreign in it to the Business of the *Roman* Story ; for what is it to the Purpose of the War the *Romans* wage with that *Prince*, that we must necessarily know all those Particularities ? Was it not enough to have related those that concern'd the Controversy betwixt him and the *Republick* ; and the War the *Romans* made upon him. *Perfes*'s Speech to his Father *Philip*, to justify himself, that long Exaggeration of his Brother *Demetrius*'s Crimes, together with his Answer, is too studied an Amplification, and is a sort of Declamation that has a Relish of the Desk or Bar in it. One might to this add, that the *Historian* suffer his Eyes to be dazzled with that Triumphant and Victorious Air he gives the People, whose History he writes, towards the end of the Wars of *Asia* ; where he represents, in too Arrogant and Lordly a Style, Captive *Kings* chain'd to the Chariot of the *Conquerour*, and dragg'd, with their Queens, along the Streets of *Rome*. There is an unaccountable Pride in those Strokes of Glory he gives the Victors ; wherein he makes the People too vain, and is not himself so Modest as he might be. It is a false Clemency, or a real Vanity, to treat *Sovereign Princes* so shamefully, and to pardon their Subjects : Would it not have been much better to have had some Veneration for Crowned Heads ? Does not that Respect which is due to Mankind, claim some Consideration for the Governours thereof ? And that Greatness of Soul, which is the Character of the *Romans*, that Nicety in Glory, upon which they Plum'd themselves, would have been more conspicuous, by their

their replacing the Crowns on the Heads of those they had Vanquish'd, than by their ignominious Treatment of them, and their contemptuous sporting on their Grandeur. To conclude, *Livy* with that sound Sense he had so natural and inbred, desiring to give us a good Opinion of the *Romans* Virtue by their Conquests, gives us as scurvy a one as may be by their Triumphs; for as much as he makes a People, when forgetting it self, so far forgetful of its real Glory, as to abandon it self, to all the Pride of its Conquests, and the Extravagance of its Vanity, It had at least been a prudential part in him, to have seem'd to dislike that sort of Management. There are doubtless other like Observations to be made upon this *Author*, if a Man would cavil. Let this suffice, whereby to judge of the rest, since 'tis necessary to fix Bounds to a Subject, that will not bear too many Particulars.

C H A P. VII.

A Comparison of the Excellencies of both Authors.

AS the Faults of a thing strike more upon one, than the Perfections, so doubtless there is requir'd a greater insight to discover what is good, than what is bad therein. They are oftentimes the narrowest Souls, that are the most forward Censurers; for nothing is more easy than to find fault, witness that im-

pertinent

Thucydides and Livy.

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pertinent Fellow mention'd by the Poet, who could Reproach the most absolute thing in Nature, I mean the Structure of the Heaven, to create an Opinion of his Sufficiency : And indeed it is the Prerogative of the most exalted Capacities, to know what is Praiseworthy, and to praise it as it should be. I am very sensible I am not one of that Order, nor sufficiently Enlightened to discern, my self, the greatest Beauties of these two Authors, or discover them to others : But possibly by attempting these little Essays, I may be instrumental to others to exercise themselves in greater ; and by opening the lesser Excellencies make the Understanding sort of Men sensible of the greatest. Here then is, in my Mind, a part of that which is remarkably fine in both One and the Other ; for I pretend not to give an account of all that is so.

Qui ut putentur sapere, calumniantur.
Phæd.
Fab.

It must be acknowledg'd in the general, that *Thucydides* had one of the most admirable Geniuses that ever was, Relating what he had a mind to, with all the Nobleness and Dignity imaginable. As he was Eloquent before *Aristotle* had wrote his Rules of Eloquence, he was Industrious of Improving, with all manner of Application and Study, that wonderful Talent of Speech he had receiv'd from Nature ; and he made that Art of his, wherein he excell'd, consist in employing every thing that could any ways ennoble his Discourse, and giving all those *Impresses*, and *Turns* to Reason, whereof it was capable, in order to persuade ; laying upon it all the *Weight* it would sustain, to make the deeper *Impression* on the Mind ; tending directly to the *Bottom* of Affairs, without staying on the *Surface* ; and by a Profoundness of Reasoning, peculiar to him, reducing

The Beauties of Thucydides.

ducing every thing to the *Fountain-head* from whence it came. But though he bestows nothing upon the *Ornaments* of Style, or the *Charms* of Elocution, yet he is sure to please, because he is thoroughly *sound* in his Discourse, altogether *clear* in his Thoughts, and *solid* in all Reflections. And there is nothing but what is Natural in his Expression, and 'tis by these ways he tends directly to the Soul. 'Tis also the frequent use of the *Entymeme*, which *Demosthenes* learnt of him, that in some measure, renders him lively, strong and powerful in his Discourse. It is by this Art he domineers over the Resolutions of those he speaks to, that he seizes the Soul of his Readers, and hurries it away with the same vehemence, as if it were an Heavenly-inspired Motion: He carries away the *Spirit* and *Force* of such kind of Reasoning, as gives it not leisure to be *sensible* of his Faults. 'Tis herein he is so successful in engaging, in the Interests he is carrying on, all that hear him. That Seriousness, Gravity and Austerity of his Character, makes his Style noble, masculine, vigorous and abounding in Sense; and that Vehemence of Expression, which sets him so far above other Authors, proceeds only from the Greatness of his *Genius*. For it is not so much the glittering of his Words, as the solidity of Sense, and the nobleness of his Thoughts, and the propriety of Terms, that gives Weight to his Speech. All this is compleated with the utmost Height of so clear and sober Reason, so exact a Judgment, and so noble a Style, that nothing seems more capable of giving a true Relish of what is Excellent, than an Acquaintance with this *Author*.

Besides, he is ever so full of his Subject, through his profound Contemplation of it, that he leaves nothing for his Readers to desire, by the Way he has of *circumstantiating* things. 'Tis meerly by this Art his Narration is so delightful, in that he omits no one Particularity, that might be serviceable to the understanding the Business he is about. Thus he so strongly engages the Mind, by the lively Images of things, that he Paints the *Ghaſtlineſs* or *Beauty* of those dismal or agreeable Objects he represents; and 'tis by this Art of *representing* to your *Eyes* the Things he speaks of, he inforces upon his Reader the same Impressions those feel who have been Actors, Sufferers, Spectators or Witnesses of the things related.

I say no more of those admirable Orations than I have said already, wherein the *Historian* so personates every Man, as to make him speak in his proper Character; having compos'd them by *Pericles's* Model, who could Charm the People of *Athens*, even in Declaiming against them, and opposing their Opinions. For *Thucydides* had often heard that Oracle of Greece, upon whose Lips dwelt the Charm of Eloquence, as *Cicero* says. Upon this Model he form'd himself, and by proposing so great an Example, carried the Art of Speech to its highest Perfections, in the Orations that he made: It is certain that Author gave a prodigious Lustre to his History by those Orations: It must likewise be acknowledg'd, that those so Studied and Exact Discourses had quite another Beauty when Extemporary, and spoken in the heat of Action and Business. To all this we may add, those most solid Principles and Virtues, Reason and sound Sense;

*Cujus in
labris lepo-
rem habi-
tasse dixe-
runt comici.
Cic. 3. de
Oratore.*

Sense; the most establish'd Maxims of Morality and Politicks, and that general *decorum* which runs through all he says, by pursuing particular Circumstances up to universal *Ideas*; and giving Energy to his Reasons, by tracing them to their first Principles, and Sources from which they were deriv'd, which is the thing that gives that substantial Form and Solidity to his Discourse: These are the Beauties of that Author in general; let us observe now his Excellencies in particular.

The Harangue of *Pericles*, who Persuaded only by obtaining a Magisterial Authority over his Auditors, speaking ever in an Imperial Strain, and, as one may say, with *Thunder* in his *Hand*; which occasion'd him to be styl'd *Olympian Jove*: That admirable Discourse that Great Man makes in the First Book of his History, in counselling the *Athenians* to a War, is of a noble Spirit, and abounds with lofty Thoughts. For instance, when he says, to encourage them to take up Arms; *Let us not be concern'd at the loss of our Lands, or Country-Seats; but our Liberty is that which ought nearly to concern us: We are not made for our Estates, but our Estates for us: I am more afraid of our own Vices, than all the Advantages of our Enemy: great Glory, and a mighty Name, is only to be purchas'd by great and dangerous Undertakings.* All the rest of that Discourse is of an equal Force and Exaltation.

But what Wisdom, what Dignity is there in that of *Archidamus* King of *Sparta*, dissuading the *Lacedemonians* from War, in the same Book? *Let us not suffer our selves, says he to be blinded by those Mens Flatteries, who only Praise, that they may Destroy us: Let us preserve our Modesty, which is the Source of our Valour: We*

are the only Greeks, whom Posterity has not as yet puffed up with Vanity.

What is there comparable to those Beauties we find in the Funeral Panegyrick in the Second Book, upon those who lost their Lives the first Campaign of that War; especially where he speaks of the Manners that prevail'd in *Athens*, and of the Government? Our Government, says he, is Popular, because the End we purpose is the Happiness of the Republick, not the making of some particular Persons; and Honour is the Reward of Merit, not the Priviledge of Birth. We love Politeness, without being fond of Luxury; we apply our selves to the Study of Philosophy, without giving up our selves to Effeminacy and Laziness, the ordinary Companions of that Study: We take the Estimate of Riches from their Uses, and not from their Pomp; we think it no shame to be Poor, but not to do what is necessary to avoid Poverty, this is Disgrace. The Interests of each People are examin'd in that Discourse, where *Pericles* gives his Sentence for the War, with all the Sagacity, the most subtil and curious Politicks are capable of. This is a Place worthy of their Study who have the Management of Affairs; nothing can be better explain'd.

That terrible Pestilence, describ'd in the third Book is so particularly Circumstanc'd, is so Elaborate and Exact, that *Lucretius* has almost entirely Translated it into his Poem; and *Demetrius*, the *Phalerian*, has commended it as one of the chiefeſt Works of Art, though *Lucian* finds fault with it in his Treatise of *History*: because that Description falls into too great a retail of Circumstances. The Description *Livy* gives us in his seventh Book of a Plague that happen'd at *Rome*, like that at *Athens*, is

Luc. l. 6.
versus finem.

A Comparison of

more succinct, and has a Style more serious. The Discourse of the Inhabitants of *Platea*, who in the same Book justify their Conduct to the *Lacedemonians*, after they had Surrendered to the Enemy, is a piece of Excellency, that *Dionysius*, the declar'd Censurer of *Thucydides*, could not chuse but admire: There is a Justness of Sense, and a Force of Eloquence that penetrates the Soul, and causes a kind of Admiration mingled with Surprise. 'Tis in these Discourses the Models for the method of Persuasion are to be sought, as being such masterly Strokes of Eloquence as are no where else to be found.

The Sea-fight, in the Port of *Syracuse*, describ'd in the seventh Book, so highly valued by *Plutarch*, is express'd so much to the Life, and the Motions of the two Fleets of *Athens* and *Sicily* are so clearly distinguish'd by their different Circumstances, that *Plutarch* himself calls that Description, a lively Image of the Passions of the Soul; 'tis all drawn in so lively and sensible a Manner: Nothing can be touch'd with a finer Hand, or be more absolute than that Piece; which manifests the Excellence of the Art, and the Greatness of the Master. There is likewise, in the sixth Book, an Oration of *Alcibiades*, to persuade the *Athenians*; to resolve upon a War with *Sicily*; which is remarkable for those Draughts of Eloquence and Politicks it is stor'd with: As for instance, when he introduces that great Man, saying, *That turbulent Spirits, such as were the Athenians, made greater advantage of Commotions than they could of Settlement: And that it was more convenient to stick to the ancient Maxims, though possibly not so good, than to change them for those that are better; because Nature, says he, is a Principle*

ciple of an higher extract than Reason ; this being but the common Operation of Man's Soul, and the other proceeding from the Decree of God Almighty. There is a profound Wisdom, an admirable Sense in that Reflection. 'Tis much the same Reasoning that he attributes to Cleon, a Citizen of Athens, upon the Case of the Prisoners of Mitylene; saying, *That ill Laws, well observ'd, were better than good Laws that were despis'd or neglected: And that a well meaning and regular Ignorance, was preferable to disorderly and inconstant Knowledge* : For nothing is more dangerous in a State, than change of Conduct.

Again, what is there more wise or rational, than the Dialogue of the Melians with the Athenians Deputies, in the fourth Book. The Melians talk in a Submissive way, which is however noble and ingenious; they preserve well the Character which became the Vanquish'd, without losing that of worthy Men, who knew how to employ their Reason well, when their Sword had fail'd them. But the Athenians lord it in too insolent a Manner. The Historian gives them too contemptuous a Carriage, not very agreeable to Persons charg'd with a Negotiation? It must be confess'd, nevertheless, that nothing is more sensible or solid than that Intercourse. And the Reproach, wherewith the Ambassadors of Platea urge the Lacedemonians, in the third Book, of which I have already spoken, is very noble. *If you measure, say they, Justice by your Interests, you will give us Reason to believe your Interests are dearer to you than your Glory.* All the Arguments the Historian employs in that Discourse are like the Flashings and Darting of Thunder and Lightning, as his most severe Censurer Dion. Halicarnassensis acknowledges; 'tis all Divine, even in his Opinion.

nion. But if a Man would set down all the Excellencies he shall find in this Author's Oration, he must entirely Transcribe them, as did *Demostheues*. What can be imagin'd more pressing, than that which he makes his *Hero* of Eloquence, *Pericles*, to speak; when he endeavours to perswade the *Athenians* to the War in the first Book? *If it were possible*, (says he to them) *you should be discourag'd by the labour and hazard there is in Conquering; I would advise you to bid farewell to Glory; for 'tis only by Pains and Hardships, ye can become worthy of that Honour.* The Argument is there express'd in all its Force and Dignity.

Finally, those Grand Principles of Honour, Equity, Honesty and Glory, to which he knows how to give their due Inforcement, are the most usual Characters he imprints upon his Discourse. 'Tis herein he makes use of the purest Reason, not laying more weight on it than it will bear, as the *Sophists* endeavour to do, nor desiring, through a counterfeit Eloquence to carry it beyond its *natural* bounds. 'Tis in these *Harangues* that all things shine and glitter, with the Lustre of a noble, strong and vehement Eloquence, which he had form'd from the lively Sense he had of Things, and a thorough Understanding of the Subjects that he Treated on. Let us then Pardon him those Discourses, for which we see some Criticks have Censur'd him, since they are fraught with so many Excellencies. For, besides that the *Greeks*, as I have observ'd before, were devoted to that Haranguing Humour, and their *Republican* Spirit authoriz'd that way: This Great Man was very sensible of his own Qualifications, for making States and Commonwealths discourse; by which means he makes his

his History, of so little and inconsiderable a Subject, to be of so important Consideration : And here he delivers those grand Maxims of Morality and Policy, he understood so well. And though *Cicero* is of Opinion, that the *Rhetorick of the Bar*, through its too great Loftiness, is improper for *civil* Affairs ; I maintain that for Reasoning, in the great Affairs of Treaties, and the Negotiation of Peace and War, and in all weighty and important Interests, controverted by States, *Thucydides* is the greatest Master that can be consulted ; and 'tis impossible to find, elsewhere, Reason better wrought, by all the wisest Maxims of Government, than in *Thucydides*. And, all things well consider'd, there is not to be found, in other Works, that Force of Eloquence that appears in his.

What Wit, what Understanding, what *The Beauties of Livy* Views must not a Man have, to discover the Excellencies of a Work, conceiv'd in the very purest Reign of the *Roman* Eloquence ; and to distinguish those Beauties, that so highly transcend the common Rules, as *Livy's* do : He had an Elevation of Soul, that gave him a noble Conception of things ; and it proceeded more from the Nobleness of his Thoughts, than that of his Language, that he was so Happy in his Expression. He was intimately acquainted with Nature and all her Movements ; of which he gave us such lively Draughts, that there is ever a surprizing Sprightliness of Soul in his Discourse : And as he had contriv'd a *sublime* Style, by the Greatness of his Expression, which he diffuses through his Work, tho' he manages it with all that Prudence, which was Natural to him, so he has plac'd all the Objects he Represents, in the finest Light imaginable. His Discourse is clear, ever tending to its purpose

pose, without making those Starts and Excursions other Authors are so Subject to. His Logick is exact, his Diction pure, his Narration full of Variety: His Order looks so Natural, as if the most curious Images of things, so postur'd themselves in his Mind, as to fall each in its proper place, to make an absolute Picture, both in all he thinks, and all he says. He disposes of those Images, which he unfolds in his Narration, by a great Diversity of Ideas; and 'tis by the Disposall and Order of them he is so Engaging: And as he speaks more to the Understanding, than the Eye or Ear, so he ever tends more directly to the Soul.

The Ornaments, which he mixes with his Discourse, and those Flourishes he bestows upon it, are so well Husbanded, as to appear only in those Places that demand them, and can bear them well; wherein he shews himself Liberal without Profuseness. As for the rest, 'tis generally the Plenty of his Matter, that makes him so Copious in his Style, the Native Richness of his Subjects causes that Luxuriance in his Speech: And his Narration becomes taking, by means of its Diffuseness, growing thereby better Circumstantiated, and more Probable. For nothing is more effectual, to render a thing Credible, than the Knowledge of the Particularities how 'twas acted: Besides, a Man gives a steadier View of the Objects represented, by standing a little upon the Turn of a Narration, without precipitating, or exhibiting things in a transient Glance. To all which may be added, the admirable Discretion he has, to dissever and separate the Sentiments of Men, and to make them speak and act according to the *Decorum*, of their several Conditions, in which Nature has inflated them.

I am dazzled with that Lustre which reflects from his Discourse, by the Choice, the Harmony, and Elegance of the Words he uses, and those softer Passions, that abounds in his History, of which *Quintilian* speaks so favourably: Those moving and delicate Affections, which he treats with all the Art and Nature imaginable, perfectly Enchant me, by those wonderful Commotions they raise in my Soul.

*Affectus
quidem
præcipue
eos qui sunt
dulciores
nemo com-
mendavit
magis
Quint. 1.
10. c. 2.*

Perhaps never Man came furnish'd with better Parts, or those more improv'd, to the Writing of a History, than he: For he was form'd in a City, at the time the *Empress* of the World; in which all the most important Affairs of the Universe were decided: And in the politest Reign that ever was, having had scarce any other School than the Court of *Augustus*. There it was he learn'd the Language of the Genteelest part of Mankind, and that lively, fine, subtle and natural Air, then in Fashion; that exquisite Taste, that purity and nobleness of Expression, which was the Character of that Age; and of which there were so great Models in all sorts of Writings, perfecting and polishing himself upon them. Thence it was he took that Softness, necessary to please, and that Force which renders him moving, wherein peculiarly consists his essential Character: For never Man united all the Grace and Beauty, with all the Vehemence of Discourse, so much as he; so much does the Sweetness of Beauty temper the masculine Force and Energy of what he says: That there falls not any thing from his Pen too strong, but is softned with a Term more nice and delicate. He prepares whatever is Bold, and heightens whatever is Low, with the

Brightness of his Speech: These then are part of his Beauties in general; let us now see those he has in particular.

He immediately procures a great Attention, and much Inquisitiveness, by that great *Idea* he gives his Subject, at the Entrance to his Work, when he says, the Destiny of a City, design'd for the *Empire* of the World, ought to have something of Divinity in its Original; and when he gives so great an Opinion of the Virtue of the People, whose History he undertakes.

In the First Book, wherein Events are little, and proportion'd to the Strength of a State in its Infancy, nothing is better related than the Battel of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*; the Adventure is Great and Extraordinary. Two little States, which make War, and Dispute for Sovereignty, give up their Interests and Destinies into the Hands of Two Families, to decide them. What Colours, what Expression does not the Historian employ in that Combat, where he Paints, with all his Art, the Fears, the Hopes, and the rest of the Passions of the Armies, who were concern'd in that Affair, where the Dispute in hand was, who should be Masters or Subjects of each other. Is there any thing to be seen more strongly Painted, or better Represented? Does not a Man feel what the Historian says, and take in the very Sentiments he inspires, by the Impressions his Narration makes upon the Soul? The Adventure of *Lucretia* is finely introduc'd in the same Book, for as much as it renders the Revolution of the Government, which it occasion'd, more remarkable. The Banishment of *Tarquin*, and his Family; the Revolt of the People against the King, whose very Name

was

was abhor'd; which is one of the greatest Adventures in the History; and all that grand Enterprize is made much more considerable and surprizing, by so illustrious and virtuous a Motive.

This dethron'd *Tarquin*, who so Pathetically implores the Assistance of his Neighbours to Re-establish him; that Image of the growing Liberty, of the Novel State, after the Slavery it had escap'd from; that Pleasure in the mighty Hopes of a lasting Settlement, where-with they flatter'd the Desires of the People; the Ease and Quiet they sensibly enjoy'd: Those Proceedings *Brutus* put them upon, to make them still more sensible, they had the Power in their own Hands, as desirous of Ruling as he was himself: The several Accessions of the Love of that Liberty that ripened daily, through the Pleasure they began to take in Dominion; and which still increased by the Disturbances of those tempestuous Assemblies held under the *Tribunes*: Those Popular Commotions caus'd by the Excess of Power they had left them, which it was necessary to repress by the Creation of *Decemviri*, accustoming them insensibly to use no other Authority but that of Laws. Those petty Wars they wag'd against their Neighbours; their Successes proportion'd to their Valour and their Strength; and those *Essays* wherewith Fortune delighted to exercise that growing *Republick*, to exalt it to the height of *Glory*, which it arriv'd to: All these, I say, Painted in those Colours, the Historian knew how to order so admirably well, are the greatest Beauties of the first Decade; the Events whereof are mostly contain'd in *Rome*, and amongst the Neighbouring People, with-

out

Plebs soluta Regio metu, agitari cepta Tribuniis procellis.
Hist. Rom. lib. 2.

out going out of *Italy*: And though all is mean and little in the Beginning, according to the Nature or Fate of things of no long Date; yet the Historian fails not to Elevate his Subject, by the Greatness of his Expression, and to inspire several Persons, he introduces, with Noble Thoughts; as *Brutus* and *Manlius*, who Sacrifice their Lives to the Security and Glory of their Country. There are divers Occurrences, in the Third Book, set in a fine Light: As the Transport of young *Appius*, who so furiously carry'd off *Virginius's* Daughter, and that had like to have destroy'd *Rome*; such Indignation the People conceiv'd at so brutal an Action: The Havock of that Horrible Attempt, is describ'd in a very passionate Air. The Adventure of the Old Senator *Quintius Cincinnatus*, taken from the Plough, to be made *Dictator*, and the Diligence of his Wife, to make him Neat and Cleanly, and to look something like a Gentleman, and all the Circumstances of that Adventure, are very Naturally Painted. The Historian, who makes *Camillus* take up Arms against the Commonwealth, and to do himself Justice on a People jealous of his Power, but insensible of the Merit of Brave and Courageous Men. makes him speak with all the Disdain a Noble Roman was capable of, when fir'd with Glory: 'Tis *Rome* (says he) that calls me back, not to re-instate me in my Place, but that I may re-establish her in hers: Which he did by the Conquest of the *Veientes*, and the taking *Veii* after ten Years War. The *Encomium*, the Historian bestows upon that Great Man, in the Seventh, is full of exquisite Sense; and there is somewhat very singular and rare in the Praises he gives him. The

Magus

Magnanimity of young *Curtius*, who, all in Armour, threw himself headlong into a vast Chasm of the Earth, which happen'd in the City, to close it up, and Appease the Gods by such a Sacrifice, is an extraordinary Ornament in the same Book. In fine, we see in the First Part of his History, a rising Neatness, that makes large Advances to its Perfection, without doing any thing unlike it self. And that One thing well laid open, is of a singular Excellence.

The Second Decade, which is the constant Succession of that growing Glory, and of all its Progress, is entirely lost; which contain'd the Wars against *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, who broke into *Italy* to Succour the *Tarentines*; and all that happen'd in those Wars, concerning the Valour and Probity of the *Romans*: Amongst which was that high Principle of Honour, which appear'd in *Fabricius*, who Heading the *Roman* Army, in Quality of *Consul*, sent back to *Pyrrhus* his Physician, that made an Offer to the *Romans* of Poisoning his Prince, who had engag'd them in a bloody War, and was become their most terrible Enemy. Here was the first *Punick War*, wherein *Attilius Regulus* so highly signaliz'd his Virtue, when, having been made Prisoner by the *Carthaginians*, he was dispatch'd to *Rome*, to treat of the Exchange of Prisoners of both Parties; and who out of an heroick, disinterested Principle, was the First that Advis'd them not to do it, because that Exchange must needs be Disadvantageous to the Commonwealth, though he himself might have enjoy'd his Life and Liberty as the Fruits of it. These are the principal Subjects of the Second Decade, as appears by *Frienshemius's* his Supplement, who hits

hits his Character exactly; and succeeds much better in making up the Loss of *Livy*, than he has done in the Supplement of the History of *Alexander* the Great, wrote by *Quintus Curtius*; as may be seen, if any one will give himself the trouble to compare them.

But *Livy's* History takes another sort of Flight, in the Third Decade, which is come to us entire, with the Fourth, and half of the Fifth. The Scene grows more lively and animated, and more astonishing, through those mightier Movements, and more important Conjunctions: For now comes the second *Punic War*, and that Famous Expedition of *Hannibal*, marching from his Country, at the Head of an Hundred thousand Men, to make an Assault upon the *Romans*, even at *Rome* itself.

There is nothing in other Histories comparable to the Portraiture this Author makes of the March of this General; 'Tis all of a Force and Expression above the common Level: 'Tis the noblest Scene of the whole History, and the Consequences perfectly answer the Beginning; where the Historian, after having pictur'd *Hannibal*, and represented him more terrible, through his Virtues than his Vices, as taken up as he is with that mighty Object, he falls upon his Matter, that he may express the Particulars, and lose nothing at all of it; every Step he makes him take, in despite of Danger, as he passes the *Alps*, is terrible: All the Circumstances are dismal and ghastly, and the Picture of Danger is imprinted almost in every Word, and every Syllable. Thence he soars in the Expansion that his Subject gives him, which is so spacious, so copious, as to give him Scope for the following Books, and all

all the Third Decade : For *Hannibal* is the leading Subject of it all. The most notorious Adventures of that War, are the Battel fought upon the Banks of the *Trasymenian* Lake in *Tuscany*, wherein there were above Fifty thousand *Romans* kill'd upon the spot, and the rest of the Army taken or routed : The Battel of *Cannæ* far more bloody than the former, in which were above Forty five Thousand slain. Nothing in Nature is describ'd in so moving a Strain ; the Terrour and Confusion *Hannibal* casts in the Face of *Rome*, by those bloody Victories, are express'd in such a way, as never any other History could reach. There are such Draughts, and such Colours, as were unknown to all Historians besides. The Consequences of those two Battels were still more terrible. a general *Consternation* run through the Heart of *Italy* ; the *Romans* were deserted by all their *Allies* ; the People was alarm'd, and the whole Body of that great Republick, till that time Victorious, was in a violent Commotion, except the Nobility and Chief Men, whom *Scipio* caus'd to Swear, with a Dagger at their Throat, that neither any of them, nor the remaining Officers, should abandon the *Republick* in that present Conjuncture ; and there was that Fierceness at *Rome*, after that last Defeat, that it was not lawful to make mention of a Peace with *Hannibal*. Their Minds were shaken, but not dejected ; and 'twas the Resolution of the Great Men which inspirited the People, and re-establish'd Affairs.

Nulla timoris significatio, nulla mentio pacis. Off. l. 3.

The Wars of *Sicily* against *Hieron* and his Sons, that of *Numidia* against *Syphax*, were the Consequents of the Second *Punick War*. But in the Twenty-sixth Book, the Historian describes the new Impressions of Fear *Hannibal* caused

Potiusdæ
sibi urbis
Romane
modo men-
tem non
dari, modo
fortunam.
Hist. Rom.
lib. 28.

caused in *Rome*, when he pitch'd his Camp before the City, and advanc'd as far as the *Porta Collina* near the Temple of *Hercules*, whence he took a Turn upon the Walls, to take the Model of it. But the Conqueror of *Rome* retreated on his own accord; and he whom the Virtue of his *Enemies* could not vanquish, was subdued by his own *Vices*, and the Pleasures of *Capua*, where he was for some time posted; and he was heard to say in his Retreat, that one while he only wanted an Inclination, and other times good Fortune, to make him Master of *Rome*. The Idea the Historian gives us in that Place of a *Veteran* General hardned to the Fatigues of War, and coming to soften himself in *Italy* in the Embraces, as one may say, of Pleasure, is very agreeable, and of an extraordinary Beauty. The Affairs of *Sicily* having oblig'd *Marcellus* to besiege *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* was there killed by Two blundering Soldiers, who took the Diagram of a Geometrical Demonstration, he was drawing upon the Sand, to be Conjuring; which is a singular and surprizing Incident in that place.

But after all, nothing is comparable to the Picture the Author gives us of young *Scipio*, in the end of the Twenty-sixth Book; where he represents him, Commission'd General of the *Roman* Army into *Spain*, to give a Diversion to the Progress of *Hannibal* in *Italy*. That Victorious Youth, at Twenty four Years of Age, was of a ripe and consummate Prudence: And though he perform'd Exploits of Arms, that astonish'd his *Enemies*; tho' in One Day he took New *Carthage*, in which the *Carthaginians* had a numerous Garrison, yet he obtain'd greater Victories by his Virtue than his Valour. For when he was presented with *Mandonius's* Lady, a Prince

Prince of Spain, and Two of his Nieces, exceedingly beautiful, he sent them back with these Words, * *That though, for the sake of his own Integrity and the Publick Discipline of Rome, it lay upon him to secure from Violence whatever was Sacred: yet their own Consideration was still a greater Engagement to do them Justice, since in their Misfortunes they were not forgetful of themselves, nor of their Virtue:* And having shew'd the same Respect to another Spanish Prince, whose Princess was presented to him, of a more accomplished Beauty than the other, he sent her back to her Husband with a great Summ of Money offer'd for her Ransom. That Prince charm'd and amaz'd, with so great Bounty, proclaim'd in his Country, † There was arriv'd in Spain, a Young Roman, Qualify'd like the Gods, that carried on his Conquests as well by his Virtues as his Arms. Nothing can be finer; and the Image the *Historian* gives us of the Young *Victor*, produces an admirable Effect, through the Opposition he makes of his Virtue against *Hannibal's* Vices. 'Tis only by his good Nature and Clemency that *Scipio* triumphs over the *Carthaginians*, whereas *Hannibal* triumphs over the *Romans* by Savageness and Violence. The one is plundering *Provinces* and battering *Towns*, whilst the other is winning the Hearts of the People, and captivating their Souls by his Beneficence and Goodness.

The last Books of this Decade contain the mighty Progress of *Scipio's* Arms in *Africa*: *Hannibal* is recall'd to the Succour of *Carthage*, where he was defeated, *Carthage* taken, and *Scipio* triumphantly return'd from *Africa* to *Rome*. Thus the End of this Decade, by its Opposition to the Beginning, where *Hannibal* drives on his Victories uncontroul'd, is one of the

* *Mea populi-
lique Ro-
mani disci-
plina cau-
sa facerem
ne quid
quod san-
ctum us-
quam esset,
apud nos,
violaretur:
nunc ut id
curem im-
pensus; ve-
stra quoque
virtus &
dignitas
facit: que
in malis
quidem ob-
lita de-
coris ma-
tronalis
estis, l. 26.
† *Venisse
diis simil-
limum ju-
venem vin-
centem om-
nia quum
armis, tum
benignita-
te ac bene-
ficiis. Ibid.**

the finest Places of the History ; especially by the new Road the Young *Roman* takes to Glory ; contributing more to the Conquests of the Republick, by setting in the Minds of the People the Reputation of the *Roman* Virtue, than by giving Battel : For that Reputation becoming the Admiration of the Conquer'd Nation, was more Victorious than their Arms.

After the Defeat of *Carthage*, the Glory of the *Roman* Name soar'd to a greater Height. The Victorious People, whose Renown was spread far and near, began to be look'd upon as the Deliverer of other Nations. Thus Gloriously it is represented by *Livy*, in the Fourth Decade. The *Athenians* oppress'd by *Philip* (the last of the Name) King of *Macedon*, implor'd the Assistance of the Senate. *Publius Sulpitius* was sent thither, who having subdued all *Greece*, proclaim'd Peace to all the People by his Lieutenant *Quintius*, and restor'd them their Liberty; and, in a Publick Assembly for the Celebration of this Festival, was heard that

*Esse gentem
in terris,
qua sua
impensa
ac periculo
bella gerat
pro liber-
tate alio-*

*rum maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit,
ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint, Lib. 33.*

The Historian afterward opens the Mystery how *Hannibal* became suspected by his Country-men, upon Advice that he entertain'd a constant Correspondence with King *Antiochus*, to oblige him to declare War against the *Romans* : That was it which this Great Man, ba-
nish'd

nish'd out of his Country, and as it were a Vagabond abroad, voted in that *King's* Council; that if he would make War as he should do, with the *Romans*, he must attack them in their own *Territories*, and fight them at *Rome* as he himself had done: There is a Greatness of Soul, and a Loftiness of Thought in what the Historian makes him speak, and suiting with the Character of *Hannibal*: 'tis in the Thirty-fourth Book. There is something Rare and Uncommon, in point of Adventure, in the accidental meeting of this Commander and *Scipio*, who was made *Lieutenant* to his Brother, as it is related in the following Book. Undoubtedly it creates a very agreeable Surprise, as it needs must, to see two Great *Generals*, who had disputed the Empire of the World at the *Head* of two potent Armies, meeting by chance at *Ephesus*, and coldly giving their Opinion as two private Men, in a sedate, and unpassionate Discourse of the Preheminence of the Greatest Officers, who have made the most Noise in the World. In fine, *Hannibal*, suspected by his Citizens, and hated by all the World, is constrain'd to fly to *Ephesus*: His Flight contains several Adventures, which render that part of the History very Curious, as being of a Man of so great Importance, that every Step he makes is considerable.

But the Adventure of *Scipio*, accus'd before the People by *Q. Petilius* for having converted part of the Spoils of *Antiochus* to his own Coffer, is more surprizing and remarkable thro' the Giddiness of Fortune, and the Injustice of the *Roman* People; and 'tis represented by the Historian with all the Dignity so strange an Adventure does require. That Man of incomparable Virtue as well as Valour, made his Appearance

*Celebratio
is prope
dies favore
hominum,
& aestima-
tione vere
magnitu-
dinis ejus
fuit, quam
quo trium-
phans de
Syphace &
Carthagi-
nensibus
urbem in-
vectus.
Lib. 38.*

pearance, at the Day prefix'd by his Accuser. But instead of making his Defence to his Accusation, presumptuous upon his own Innocence, he spoke to the People assembled to condemn him, with a bold and undaunted Gallantry, and the Voice of a Conqueror: *Such was the Day wherein I took Carthage, beat Hannibal, and vanquish'd the Carthaginians; let us go to the Capitol, and thank the Gods.* The People surpriz'd at so magnanimous a Carriage, left the Accuser, and follow'd Scipio: And that Day, says the Historian, was infinitely more Glorious to him, and advanc'd his Honour higher, in the Opinion of the People, than that wherein he triumphed over King Syphax, and the Carthaginians. Dissatisfy'd however with that Treatment, which manifested so much Disesteem, he retreated to *Linternum*, a Country-seat of his towards *Capua*, where he dy'd sometime after, in the Embraces of his Family, as a private Person. The Portraiture of *Cato*, delineated in the Thirty ninth Book, on Occasion of the Dignity of *Censor*, which he canvass'd with the *Scipio's*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Furius*, and other Persons of Note in the Senate, is a Master-piece. 'Tis pleasant to see how resembling it all is, upon the Notion a Man has of the Austerity of Virtue in that Great Man: For that *Portraiture* is so singular, in all the *Features* that compose it, that whether it is like nothing, or whether it resembles its *Original*, all is touch'd off with an admirable Air. That which the Historian brings him in speaking against the Luxury of Women, in the Thirty-fourth Book, to put in Execution the *Oppian Law*, which regulated the Expence of Habits, and retrench'd the Prodigality therein; and against the Nocturnal Devotion, de-

scrib'd

Thucydides and Livy.

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scrib'd in the Thirty-ninth Book, wherewith they mix all the Horrour of the most dissolute Practices, and abominable Debauchery in the World, has much of the Spirit of a rigid Censor of Manners. The Speeches he makes against the Disorders, which the Wars of *Asia* had brought into *Rome*, by infusing Effeminacy, Licentiousness, and a Prostitution of Youth, which tended to its utter Ruine, bear the Stamp of a Sincere and Great Man, who contributed, with the Old Senators, to the Preservation of that Wisdom, Probity, Hatred of Injustice, Love of Equity, and Horror of Vice, which prevail'd in the Senate at that Time: And all this has its Effect in the End of that Decade, where the Historian presents us with the Spirit and Character of the Republick then subsisting. The Death of *Hammbal*, who had retir'd to *Pyrrhus* King of *Bythinia*, after the Defeat of *Antiochus* (having poisoned himself, to avoid falling into the Hands of *Flaminius*) is very moving at the End of the Thirty-ninth Book: One is concern'd to see so Great a Man die in such a manner; and that Particular prepar'd so finely, with such remarkable Events, is of a singular Excellence.

But it must be acknowledg'd that nothing is more pompous or magnificent than the Entrance of the Forty-third Book, where *Livy* sets forth the Generality of the People of *Greece* and *Asia*, after the subduing *Macedonia*, sending their Ambassadors to *Rome*, to implore the Protection of the Senate, and to submit themselves to the Republick. All that Part is describ'd in that Triumphant Character, which usually accompanies the happy Conquerours. The Historian himself there strikes on such a Key, as lets us know he is Apprehensive of the good

A Comparison of

Fortune of his Country, and the Merit of his Subject. The Defeat of *Perseus* in the Forty-fourth Book, happening upon Oecasion of an Horse, that escap'd the Hands of his Servants, and was the Cause of the Battel, which the Two Armies, encamp'd upon the opposite Banks of a little River, would willingly have avoided, has something surprizing in it; and indeed nothing is finer in an History than great Events caus'd by trifling Accidents, as this, which is very Remarkable upon the Wonder it raises.

The Oration the Ambassadors of *Rhodes* make before the *Senate*, in the Forty-fifth Book, is fine, lofty and eloquent; nothing comes nearer the Discourses *Thucydides* attributes to the Deputies of *States* and *Commonwealths*, in his History of the *Peloponnesian War*: Nothing can be more fitly compar'd with him, in that very Kind in which his Excellence lay; nor is there any thing more like that manner of Speaking, he gives the Towns and States whose History he writes. *Paulus Emilius's* Voyage through *Greece*, after he had Conquer'd it, his Visiting the Provinces to observe what was Remarkable for Antiquity, or for the Rarity and Excellence of the Work, is handsomely described in the Forty-fifth Book. Every Town has its peculiar Character, its Order and Distinction; and the Historian, by giving us a fine Notion of the Country, heightens the Victories and Advantages of his own.

All this receives an additional Greatness in the Remainder of that History, after the Defeat of *Perseus*, which was the concluding Blow of that long and hazardous War of *Macedonia*; and the *Roman Name* was exalted to its highest Pitch

Pitch of Glory. In effect, the Senate had scarce any other Employment, than the answering the Requests of *Kings*, and ordering their *Destinies*. 'Tis no longer the *Ambassadors* of *Kings* and *Crowned Heads*: Here are the *Kings* of *Syria* and *Ægypt*, of *Bitlynia* and *Pergamus*; here is *Ptolomy* and his Sister *Cleopatra*, who make the *Senate* the *Arbiter* of their Difference; here's King *Massinissa* sending his Two Sons to *Rome*, to Congratulate the Republick in his Name, for the Defeat of *Perseus*; here's *Prusias* King of *Bitlynia*, accompanying his Son *Nicomedes*, and presenting him to the Republick, to take him under its Protection: Here's *Perseus* fasten'd to *Emilius's* Chariot, with his Two Sons, to render the Triumph of the Conquerour more Arrogant and Glorious; as he had done *Gentius* King of *Illyricum*, with his Wife and Children, overcome by the Prætor *Anicius*. In fine, not to repeat what I have already observ'd, at the End of the Abridgment I have made of the History in the Fifth Chapter, we may say there is nothing Comparable to the Idea *Livy* gives of the Grandeur and Glory of the Republick in those Times: That never History went upon so great a Subject; nor ever Historian supported the Dignity of the Matter with a greater Majesty and Force of Expression. That Picture the Author draws of *Prusias* King of *Bitlynia*, who takes Pride in being a Denizen of the *Roman* People, which he treats, according to * *Polybius*, with the most prostituted Flattery, is well worthy of him, and that Purity of Morals he so highly professes. Herewith he concludes the Forty-fifth Book; for the rest of it is lost.

* *Polybius*
cum regem
indignum
majestate
nominis
tanti tra-
dit Roma
quoq; cum
venire in
curiam
summisse
se, & osculo
limen cu-
ria conti-
nisse, &
Deos serva-
tores nos
Senatum

appellasse, aliamque orationem non tam honorificam audientibus, quam sibi deformem habuisse. Tit. Liv. 45. sub finem.

A Comparison of

How Glorious would it be, should we have the Residue of the History which is lost, and the Description of those great Transactions of the following Times; I would say, the Particulars of *Scipio's* Victories, the Adopted Son of *Paulus Emilius*, who subdued *Africa* to the *Romans*: Those Times wherein *Thebes*, *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, *Numantia*, were seen levell'd to the Ground, and following the Destiny of *Carthage*? Those Celebrated Wars against *Jugurtha* and *Mitridates*? Those terrible Seditions that began to make Head in the Republick through *Cinna*, *Marius* and *Sylla's* Abusing their Power, which the Success of their Arms, conspiring with that Degeneracy, Abundance and Luxury had infus'd into the Generality, and their own Fortune had given them?

What should we say, did there but remain in this mighty Work any Track of those great Expeditions of *Sertorius* into *Spain*, of *Marius* upon the *Cimbri* and *Teutons*, and of *Pompey* in to *Asia*, of *Cæsar* amongst the *Gauls*, and in all the North? The mutual Jealousie of those Two Generals, which caus'd a Civil War? The Sequels of that War so Fatal to the *Romans*, which went near the Destruction of *Rome*, by the Revolution of the Government? Finally, should we see in this Historian, those ghastly Representations of the *Republick*, ript open to her very Bowels, by the Hands of her own Children? Of the Senate broken into Parties, of *Italy* in Distraction, and all the Universe almost in Disorder and Confusion? Should we see the Establishment of the Empire, the Death of *Cæsar*, stab'd by the Senate, the Triumvirate of *Octavius*, the Defeat of *Antony*, the Triumph of *Augustus*, and all the great Objects of those unfortunate Times, which

which doubtless made the finest Part of *Livy's* History, as being the most memorable Events of the *Roman* Commonwealth: For why should we not reckon up all the Beauties and excellent Works that came from his Hand, and were only lost through the Negligence, or perhaps Ignorance, and corrupt Palate of the succeeding Ages.

But I pretend not to have Remark'd all the Delicacies of this Author, I have already mention'd those I my self was most Affected with; a Man must go quite through with him, that would do the Historian Justice. And to speak more freely upon the Point, he must fetch a vaster Compass, than the Bounds I have prescrib'd my self would admit. This may suffice for an Essay, to judge of the rest by, without being mistaken.

C H A P. VIII.

The Decision of the Comparison.

AND now having examin'd the Advantages and Disadvantages of these Two Historians, their Persons, their Genius, their Subjects, their Histories, and the Faults and Excellencies of each, it may be determin'd which ought to have the Preference. But seeing they mutually Excel each other, in several Particulars, to hold the Balance even, and do them all the Justice that is possible; here is, in my Opinion, what we ought to think, and say of One and the Other. They are both Equally above that exact and scrupulous Niceness, which too Studiously affects a perfect Regularity; since they were only made for Great Things, and the Elevation of
X 4
their

their *Genius* would not permit them to stoop to so mean Regards. They had in the same Degree of Perfection, an admirable Judgment in the Choice of their Thoughts, and in expressing them Nobly: They had an exquisite *Sense* for the natural Turn of Expression, which is the Effect of a mature Judgment; and they were skill'd in the Choice of Words, which enlivened the Expressions most, and were most proper to declare their Meaning; they were equally industrious to avoid flashy and glittering Words, and to stick to the more ordinary and significant: Both of them have more of a Figurative than a proper Style, knowing that one made greater Impression than the other; but their Discretion in this Practice was equally admirable in both, being ever happy in the Images and Representations of their Thoughts, wherein we may always discover the Foot-steps and Tracts of Nature. Thus there has been but very few Authors, every way so accomplish'd, as these two Historians; for there is nothing but is judiciously and happily Imagin'd in them both.

They have both a Sublimity, ever maintain'd with, and founded on Reason; a thing not known to other Historians. They both endeavour'd to copy Nature, and this they propos'd as their main End. They are just in their Comparisons, easie in their Figures, and happy in their Metaphors. *Livy* is richer in his Expression, is more copious, and fuller of Variety, and has more of those *passionate* Strokes that affect the Mind. But *Thucydides* has Expressions more *strong*, Colours more *terrible*, and Strokes more *lively*, and seems to make more forcible Impressions on the Thoughts: He likewise gives more Action and Motion to
his

his Speech; and by inclosing a great deal of Sense in a little Room, he leaves more to the Imagination and Conjecture of his Reader. But *Livy* is sure to please more, because to the Force and Vehemence of Expression, he adds all the Sweetnesses and Graces of Art, he is as Florid and Agreeable as he pleases, by the Art he has of Tempering his Discourse with such fine and delicate Airs; by giving it those enchanting Turns, and by the Method he found out of joyning to that Dignity, upon which he ever bottoms his Discourse, all the Easiness and Simplicity requisite to make it Natural. Besides that *Livy* has a greater abundance of Matter, and more Order and Variety in the Events he represents; there is moreover something unaccountably *sweet*, and insinuating in his Transitions, which renders him so smooth and easie, that in reading him, a Man is convey'd from one Subject to another, without being sensible of the Motion; so dextrously he orders his Matters, and threads his Discourse. He marches, or makes a Halt, advances, or takes Breath, as his Occasion or his Pleasure is, and no Man is aware of it. The *Greek* is *great* in his Words, and *little* in his Events, which are generally inconsiderable. The *Roman* is *great* in both, and is very singular in the Art he has of drawing out at length extraordinary Events, in all their Train of Circumstances. For he postures them with Design, and collects them with Discretion, by avoiding all Superfluous Particulars; and herein it is he is generally so Alluring; for nothing engages a Reader more, than that Choice of necessary Circumstances singled out from those that are less useful.

Nor

Nor are only his Idea's more Noble, but also the Affairs he treats of, and the Adventures he describes, are of more Weight and Moment; and the Persons he introduces, are of a more exalted Character: For what can a Man find in *Thucydides* a Match for *Hannibal* and the *Scipio's*, for *Pompey* or *Cæsar*, and all those mighty Names the *Roman* History abounds with? Again, the Virtues which *Livy* proposes, present themselves in all their *Formalities*; that is, in their *Beginnings* and their *Progress*; than which nothing can be more delightful in an History, which is neither so distinct, nor sufficiently observ'd in *Thucydides*. *Livy* has a more rich, a more embellish'd, and a more fruitful Imagination; he has more Fire and Liveliness in his Expression: His Project is greater, and the Contrivance of his Design more magnificent. That Majestick Strain of Talking, which is natural to him; that Elegance he shews in little Subjects, all that admirable Art of Rhetorick, with an exquisite Choice of Words; and all those other Qualities which distinguish him from the rest of the World, give him a vast Advantage over *Thucydides*; who by a dry, unsavoury and austere way of Speaking, has nothing by way of Shew and Ostentation: Whereas the other knows how to manage all this to his Use, and practise it according to the Necessity of his Subject, without any Appearance of Study or Affectation. And those favourable Places of Eloquence, where one may play the Passions; and all those secret Engines which move the Soul, are much frequenter in *Livy*, by reason of those great Concerns he is engag'd in, and which furnish his History.

There

There seems too, to be in *Livy* more Purity, better Construction, greater Order and Regularity throughout his Discourse: Which *Thucydides* troubled not his Head with; nay, in some measure, he affected to be disorderly in his Expressions: And indeed, he talks best of War, especially of the Sea, and Naval Expeditions, having made that his Exercise and Employment. But it must be confess'd, that *Livy* gives us a better Opinion of the *Romans*, than *Thucydides* of the *Greeks*; though at the same time they had both pursu'd the Truth of the History; and the *Greek Historian* is not to be blamed, if the *Portraits* he copies, want that Beauty which the others have; for as much as he makes not the Characters, but represents them only. It must be own'd too, that the *Arbenian* People were more intractable, and head-strong than the *Romans*; because their Power was not poiz'd with such Politick Medians, as was that of *Rome*: And that which was *Haughtiness* in the *Greeks*, was true *Virtue* in the *Romans*, and a Nobleness of Soul. *Livy* had too great Advantage over *Thucydides*, from the Nature of his Subject; which was not only more Fortunate, but more Stately also and Magnificent: For 'tis the Empire of the World, 'tis all the Universe he grasps into his History, whilst *Thucydides* is confined to a little Piece of a Continent, an inconsiderable Spot of Ground: But this may be said in his Commendation, That he has express'd more Artifice in supporting the Meanness of his Subject; he has shewn a great deal of Dexterity, in improving so harsh and barren a Soil, into so rich, and, in some Measure, fertile a Capacity; and herein consists the Greatness of his Merit, that he has rais'd so Disadvantagious a Subject, to

so

so high a Value as it bears. It is true, *Livy* takes pleasure to open the growing Grandeur of the Republick by degrees, striking always at his Mark, which is his Country's Glory. *Thucydides* had scarce such Thoughts in his Head; he follows the beaten Road, without turning to the Right-hand or the Left.

Livy's Beginning bears more Proportion to the rest of his History; but however great was his Design, there is nothing haughty in the Proposition of it. *Thucydides's* Entrance on a particular History, is too universal. It would have serv'd for an *Exordium* to a General History of all Greece, and have given us a compleat Notion of it.

After all, they are both of them mighty Artists, admirably skill'd in expressing the Passions in their proper Characters, and natural Colours. *Livy* has a softer and sweeter Hand; *Thucydides* has something strangely Serious and Grave in his way of Painting. The Morals of them both are uncorrupt, pure, exact and honest; they have great Principles of Virtue, admirable Maxims of the Publick Good, a noble Taste of Things, and are very experienc'd in Decency and good Breeding. To this may be added, that they are Equals, and Rivals in the Love of Truth; they are Men of an untainted Honesty, of an inviolable Fidelity and Sincerity on all Occasions.

One might possibly, to push the Comparison as far as it will go, compare *Thucydides's* Description, in the Beginning of the Eighth Book, of the Event, the News of the entire Rout of the *Athenians* by the *Syracusan* Army had, with the Effect the News of the Battel at *Cannae* caus'd at *Rome*. The Picture *Livy* makes of the Consternation the People of *Rome* were in, after

after that Defeat, is not so Circumstantiated as that of *Thucydides*, but it is more greatly express'd. There appears not that Resolution in the *Athenians*, as in the People of *Rome*, supported by the *Senate*, and the *Grandeess* of the *Republick*; and all well consider'd, the *Latine* Historian's Genius seems to have the Ascendant over the *Grecian's*.

After all, 'tis confess'd, *Thucydides* is much exacter in his *Logick*, that he is more Elevated in his Reasonings, that he has a greater Principle, and nobler Thoughts, in several Places, than *Livy*, and that he makes greater Impressions on the Soul; but the other is always more agreeable and moving; the one gives his Colours Strength, the other Charms and Liveliness. What masterly Strokes, what bold Expressions are in the former, what Variety in the latter? *Thucydides* chuses rather to be solid than Polite; *Livy* has found the Method of being Solid and Polite together, and of joyn'ing all the Elegance and Fineness of Words, with the Solidness of Things: The one is great on no other bottom than himself; the other is so, through the Nature of his Subject, and his manner of treating it. The one has nothing but Strength and Vigour; the other has the Art of Tempering that Masculine Vigour with the softest Charms, such a Work as his is capable of.

Finally, to draw to a Conclusion, *Livy* has been incomparably happier in his *Choice*, in his *Project*, in the *Performance* and *Success* of his Work; which leads the Reader Step by Step, from contemptible *Beginnings*, through extraordinary, and sometimes miraculous *Events*, to a glorious *End*; that represents the *Roman* People, risen from a *base* and *scandalous* Extraction,

to

to such a Pinnacle of Glory, as never People yet arriv'd to: This History displays all the Motions and Progress of that Glory, through its Obstacles and Oppositions, which make it appear the Brighter; and it displays that growing Greatness, conducted to its highest Pitch and Elevation, through all the several Degrees of its Perfection. This is the thing wherein it is so Admirable: For nothing is so Charming and Delightful, as to see the Representation of the Beginnings and *Birth* of things, gradually *increasing*, and a great Design methodically *accomplish'd*, and brought to its Perfection: In which Point, *Thucydides's* History is nothing comparable: The *Peloponnesian* War, which is the principal Design, aims at nothing but the Weakening the two States that strove for the Empire of *Greece*. The Succession of that War has nothing of Connexion or Coherence; it is interrupted by a Multitude of Occurrences that have no Analogy to the End of it; and that End is neither happy for the one nor the other: Thus it leaves the Reader's Mind discontented, at least, very little satisfy'd with a Story, whereof it retains no Idea, but of *Battels* and *Oration*s.

But if so, then the Comparison of these two Authors is very unequal, and *Livy* has much the better of *Thucydides*; which yet I cannot absolutely agree to, if a Man considers them by themselves, and in their Personal Merit: I add too, that probably *Thucydides* has excell'd *Livy*, had he been equally happy in the Choice of a Subject: For he is not at all inferior to him, in the natural Solidity of good Sense; in that Exactness, or rather Severity of Reason, that accompanies all he says: I question too, whether *Livy* argues always in the Justness of *Thucydides*;

Thucydides; 'tis true, he has always a Nobleness of Expression in his Narration; but 'tis to be doubted, whether he has all that Simplicity, which should go into the Character of a perfect Historian.

Thus then, to decide the Controversie, and precisely to declare the Preference, it is requisite we return to the stating the Essential Character of an Historian, and determine whether Truth is all that is requir'd in him; whether it is enough merely to recommend Truth to our Understanding, and not endear it to our Affections, by his manner of speaking and describing it; for Simplicity is all that's requir'd to a Discourse, to discover the Truth of it: But to make the Reader in love with it, when presented to him, there must be a great deal more; there must be Purity of Language, Nobleness of Expression, Liveliness of Thought, and much Variety in his Narration: It ought to be known, whether Truth is not charming and attractive enough, through its own native Brightness, and naked Simplicity, without the Assistance of Paint and Artifice; and whether she is not spoil'd of her Natural Ornaments, and such as really become her, by that customary Wash and Dress they bestow on her. For if so, then *Thucydides*, who has the most Plainness and Simplicity, is to be preferr'd before *Livy*: And, on the contrary, if Truth ought to become Agreeable and Lovely, by the Charms and Beauty of Discourse, *Livy* must be awarded the Precedence. Here is something to exercise nice and curious Wits, to whose Sentence I refer my own, being not confident and bold enough my self to pass the Verdict.

A
COMPARISON
 BETWEEN
Plato and Aristotle.

WITH THE
 Opinions of the FATHERS
 upon Their Doctrine.

The P R E F A C E.

NEVER was there such an Itch in Men after Philosophy, as there is now a-days, and never were there fewer true Philosophers. They imagine, forsooth, that a chance Hit in Chymistry, or the Knowledge of some Figures in Geometry, qualifies a Man for a Philosopher, and entitles him to dispute it with Plato and Aristotle. But they are grossly mistaken; true Philosophy is something more Noble; 'tis neither the Smoke of an Alembick, nor the Windings of a Pair of Compasses, that can form a Philosopher. The Experience of Chymistry in its Forms
 may

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may indeed reach a Physical Certainty, but can never come up to a Demonstration; and the most accomplish'd Geometrician, as Ammonius observes, can never pretend to much Wisdom without being a Metaphysician. True Philosophy then not being to be attain'd but by the Knowledge of other Arts and Sciences, there will be requisite hereunto a solid Judgment, Depth of Thought, great Study, and much Labour, with suitable Degrees of Learning, and a thorough Insight into all the Parts of Antiquity. I am, in this Matter, of Plato's Opinion, I call a Firmness of Mind, Constancy, Fidelity, and good sound Sense, true Philosophy, which is indeed nothing else than to be a Man of true Reason, and true Virtue; nor does this Secret consist in those subtil Refinements of Logick, those new Delicacies of Morality; nor in those ridiculous Whims in Physicks, which are now so much alamode. This new Northern Philosophy, so much now in vogue, appears to me very false, in that, by releasing the Mind, and freeing it from all Fatigue and Labour, it neglects and contemns those necessary Preparations to sound Reasoning and deep Speculation, confining and limiting it self to dry unprofitable Operations, which have nothing solid and substantial in them, because not supported and maintain'd by Reason. Nothing can be more fantastical than to pretend to reduce the general Extent of this Science within the Compass of a few Experiments and Distillation; and by those three Principles of Salt, Sulphur, and Mercury, so foolishly to search for that Universal Spirit, which is utterly Chimerical. 'Tis these new Philosophers, these superficial, half-witted People, that appear thus against the ancient Philosophy, and endeavour to cry it down, in order to establish a modern System prejudicial to good Morality, and destructive of Religion. This is what ought to engage all those that are well affected to the ancient Philosophy, to show themselves

Y

zealous

Ammon.
in Por-
phyr.
Multis Ar-
tibus opus
est, ut ad
Philoso-
phiam ac-
cedi possit.
I Lact. l. 2.
c. 25. Inst.
Τὸ γὰρ βί-
βαιον καὶ π-
ρὸν καὶ ὑγιὲς
τὸ τοῦ ἰσο-
ρημίου εἶναι
τὴν ἀληθινὴν
σοφίαν
Plat. E-
pist. ad
Arist.

*Siquid in zealous in its Defence, which St. Thomas so highly
 Dictis Phi- commends, and which was of signal Advantage to
 losophorum Him in the explaining the Mysteries of our Faith,
 inveniatur and which was never found to be false, but in the
 repugnans false Use that has been made of it.
 Fidei, il-
 lud non est
 à Philosophiâ desumptum, sed ex ejus abusu procedere potest per Rationis
 Defectum : Nam Verum alteri Vero nullo pacto repugnare potest. St. Thom.
 in Comment. ad Lib. Trin. q. 2. Art. 3.*

*This was the principal Reason that prevail'd on
 me to write of the Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle;
 not out of any Design to inspire into the Men of our
 Age a vain Spirit of Curiosity, but to teach those
 that are truly faithful, the Use which ought to be
 made of Philosophy in order to render it serviceable
 to our Religion ; and to convince them that the
 Knowledge of the Ancients and good Learning,
 shou'd be the common and ordinary Weapons for a
 Christian to defeat Error and Imposture with. For
 this Reason * Tertullian heretofore exhorted the
 Christians of his Time to furnish themselves with
 Philosophy, for the better opposing the Hereticks that
 fetch'd their Arguments from it ; and the Emperor
 † Julian forbid the Study of Learning and Philoso-
 phy, because he fear'd the Truth. Upon the same
 Account || St. Basil compos'd a Homily to engage the
 Christians to study Heathen Books, in order to profit
 by their Lights, after the Example of Moses and
 Daniel ; and * St. Cyril against Julian, and
 † Theodoret in his History, and many others of
 the Fathers have done the same. This is what I
 principally design'd in this Work, which I am per-
 suaded may be of some Use, considering the Circum-
 stances of Times we live in. Others perhaps may
 be of the same Opinion, if, without suffering them-
 selves to be blinded by the Calmness and Prosperity
 our Religion at present enjoys in the most flourishing
 Condition, they will but reflect upon that pernicious
 and*

* Philoso-
 phari nos
 provocant
 Heretici.
 Tertul.
 lib. de Re-
 fur.
 † Arnob.
 l. 1. contra
 Gentes.
 || Basil. in
 Homil.
 * Cyril. in
 Proleg.
 contra Ju-
 lian.
 † Theod.
 l. 6. c. 17.
 Hist Mel-
 chior. Can.
 loc. X.

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and destructive Itch of Curiosity that has spread it self over Germany, and upon that new Spirit of Philosophy, which rages throughout the whole North, and directly tends to downright Libertism. I wou'd not be hereby thought to reprehend the commendable Labours which many Learned Men, both in England and France, have bestow'd in the Study of Natural Philosophy, nor to find the least Fault with that Application and Industry they have us'd daily to enrich with new Experiments so necessary a Science: But this I engage to maintain, that true Philosophy can never hope to flourish, unless supported by profound Learning, and a perfect Knowledge of Antiquity. And in this I appeal to what has been formerly said by Plutarch, that upon the Knowledge of Natural Philosophy only, 'tis Presumption to attempt to decide any thing; and that being skill'd in Logick alone, begets a Spirit of Contradiction, it creates a wrangling litigious Temper, and disposes a Man to continual Disputes. To attain to Philosophy, we must begin with Logick, and none can understand Logick well, but he that is first an excellent Metaphysician. These several Parts of Philosophy do so mutually aid and assist each other, that 'tis impossible to separate them, without endangering the Whole.

This is what may be learn'd from this Work; at least from hence it may be plainly seen by what Degrees Plato and Aristotle became such great Philosophers. I have begun with the History of their Persons, without disguising the least Circumstance of their Lives, the better to represent them in their own proper Conditions. I have explain'd their Method in the Second Part, to shew how we ought to study them; and in the Third I have display'd their Doctrine, not in all the Particulars of it, which neither our Language can express, nor the nice Palates of this present Age relish; but only

in its Principles, in which I have endeavour'd to contract my self, that I might not become disagreeable by too dry a Discussion, as a Treatise of this Nature might possibly be, were it too exact. I proceed to explain in the Fourth Part the Opinions of the Fathers upon the Doctrine of these two Philosophers, to teach the World what Judgment, and what Use ought to be made of them from that of the Primitive Christians. I conclude this Work with some Christian Reflections, that it may be profitable to those that shall read it. And, that none may reproach me for the Purity of my Intentions, I declare that I condemn no Opinions, but such as are dissonant to Religion.

As the Romans had no Philosopher of Merit amongst them comparable to Aristotle, I found my self oblig'd to draw the Comparison between two Greeks, in order to make a just Opposition; and so to quit my general Design of Comparing the Greeks with the Romans, which I had at first propos'd, to let the World see that the Romans surpass'd the Greeks as far in Matters of Learning, as they did in the Power and Success of their Arms, except only in Philosophy, and in that Point Rome must give the Preference to Athens.

A

COMPARISON

BETWEEN

Plato and Aristotle.

PART I.

C H A P. I.

The Proposition of the Design.

TH E Design of Drawing a Comparison between *Plato* and *Aristotle*, is what admits of so much Difficulty, that some may possibly think it a Rash and Bold Undertaking. For in the Prosecution thereof, I shall be oblig'd not only to pass a Judgment upon two of the Wisest Men amongst the Ancients, but likewise to determine whether the several Opinions of those Authors who have spoke of them, are well or ill grounded; and whether the different Palates of every Age have truly relish'd their Doctrines, or not? So that to what Side soever I incline, I shall unavoidably expose my self in Forming a Judgment contrary to that of so many Great Men; which will undoubtedly require more Labour and Trouble than I at first

propos'd. But when I do but consider what a Crowd of Commentators have for these two Thousand Years fill'd our Libraries with an infinite Number of Volumes, I cannot be persuaded that I am able to add any Thing to what they have already writ; and therefore shall content my self barely to give an Impartial Account : 1. Of the Merit of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and whatever relates to their Persons. 2. Of their Method. 3. Of their Doctrine. And lastly, Of the various Opinions the Learned have entertain'd of their Works; and the different Esteem their Sects have met with in every Age.

It may be said indeed, that thus to Treat of Ancient Philosophy and Philosophers, is not according to the Humour of the Times, in which Novelty so much prevails, and New Theories are only in Vogue; nor according to the Taste of the Wits of the present Age, who are all for Schemes of Philosophy of their own drawing, for Hypotheses after their own Fashion: For never certainly were there before seen so many Maxims of Morality, so many Methods of Logick, and Systems of Physicks. But notwithstanding all this, there are still left some Persons of such Free and Generous Spirits, as not to be Byass'd by these common Prejudices, who have no Disgust of Antiquity, but acknowledge the Truth, under whatsoever Colours it appears.

It is no small Difficulty, in a Design of this Importance, to know how exactly to distinguish the Interests of our Religion, from the Maxims of the Sects that bear the Names of these Two Great Men; and to examine into the Good or Ill Use the Primitive Christians made of the Prophane Reasonings of *Philosophy*; and

and at the same Time to preserve entire and inviolable, that Veneration which is due to those Fathers of the Church, who borrow'd their Arguments from Paganism, to uphold Christianity, and to support the Articles of our Faith. For to succeed in an Attempt of this Nature, it will be requisite, that we have first a compleat, perfect and profound Knowledge of their Doctrines. And this will oblige me to enter upon this Discussion with the greatest Circumspection, and to advance no farther in so nice a Point, than I think necessary for the clearing of my Subject.

To write with any Agreeableness, on a Matter so dry and barren as *Philosophy*, may be another Difficulty, considering the delicate Taste the Men of this Age have, even to Excess. It is in vain for an Author to pretend to make his Works acceptable, by the Importance of the Things he Treats about, unless he affect the Reader with some Additional Pleasure. But I am sensible, that I neither can, nor indeed ought to Study the Beauties of Language, upon a Subject so Grave, which will of it self afford another Sort of Pleasure, perhaps not less entertaining. For it cannot but be very delightful, to see how large a Progress Humane Reason can make, when only guided by her own Light. No Person certainly ever carried it so high as *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and yet was their Sight so dim upon several Prospects, that the Errors into which they are fall'n, for want of the Light of Faith, are alone sufficient to abate the Pride of Man. And this at least may be one Advantage to be gather'd from this Discourse. I hope also, that what I shall say of the Doctrine of these Two Philosophers, will not prove altogether useless

and unprofitable, to those who are too much prepossess'd with the Fancy of new Opinions. But before I speak any Thing of the personal Merit of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, 'twill be proper to search a little into the Rise and Progress of *Philosophy*, and consider the State and Condition it was in, when these two Great Men first appear'd in the World.

CHAP. II.

Of the Birth of PHILOSOPHY, and of its State and Condition before Plato and Aristotle.

THE *Philosophy* which I intend to speak of, is not that which now a-days makes so much Noise in the World with its Disputes, which are mingled with unnecessary Heat and Passion. The Wisdom which *Aristotle* and *Plato* admir'd, avoided all Contests, and fix'd it self solely upon the Truth. The Universal Principles, upon which it form'd its Precepts, was good Sense, which serv'd as a Guide to Govern and Direct the Outward, and Instruct the Inward Man: It alone trac'd Things up to their proper Fountains; it taught Reason to be subject to certain Rules, by which it might confirm and strengthen it self against all Doubt, Error and Opinion, and continue constant and unshaken in its Notion of Things, and calm that Natural Inquietude that so incessantly torments the Mind. And in fine, it bent itself wholly to render Man Happy, by discovering
to

to him the Principles of Things, and shewing him how they did Originally Exist. So that of all Sciences this is the most Noble, the most Profitable, and the most Advantagious to Mankind.

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. Virg. l. 1. Georg.

Though the Original of this *Philosophy* be obscure, and we have no certain Account of its Birth and Nativity, yet all are agreed that the *Greeks* were the first *Philosophers* in the World. Not but that other Nations which were before them, had a Knowledge of some Parts of *Philosophy*, which, according to the Nature and Situation of their Country, Necessity, the first Mistress of all Sciences, had instructed them in, as their several Occasions requir'd. Thus the * *Egyptians* began to observe the Ebbs and Flows of the *Nile*, and to prognosticate every Year the Fruitfulness or Barrenness of their Land: And, to make a more equal Dividend of their Harvests, between those Persons who had Cultivated the Ground, they invented the first Principles of Geometry. And as that Nation was very much given up to Superstition, their Priests took the Advantage of their Weakness, and compos'd a Religion of a Sort of Theology, confounded with Variety of Mysteries, of which their Figures and Hieroglyphicks give us but a gross *Idea*.

* *Per figuram Animæ ægyptii sensus mentis effinxerunt, ut antiquissima memoria humane monumenta sacris impressa cernuntur. Cor. Tac.*

The *Assyrians*, who liv'd in a large open champaign Country, having nothing to hinder them from contemplating the Stars, were the first that observ'd their Motions. And the * *Chaldeans*, who were, amongst these People, a Sort of *Philosophers*, turn'd this Speculation into an Art of Foretelling things to come. In

* *Chaldeæ cognitione astrorum, solertiaque*

ingeniorum antecellunt. Cic. de Divinat. lib. 1.

fine,

*Phœnices,
qui mari
præpelle-
bant, intu-
liffe Gra-
ciæ, memo-
rari quæ ab
Ægyptiis
accepere.*

Cor. Tac.

Quâ fidunt

duce no-

eterna

Phœnices in

alto. Arat.

apud Tull.

Laert. l. i.

c. i.

Orig. contr.

Celf.

Laert. l. i.

c. i.

** Solomon
disputavit
super lig-
nis, à cedro
quæ est in
Libano,
usque ad
hysopum;
& disseruit
de jumen-
tis & vo-
lucris &
reptilibus
& piscibus.*

Reg. c. 4.

l. 3.

fine, the *Phœnicians*, who were near the Sea, drew another considerable Advantage from this Knowledge of the Stars; by observing those more particularly, whose Courses might be of Use to them in Navigation: In which they succeeded so well, that they were the first that found out, that there was a fix'd Point towards the Pole, by which Pilots might securely Steer.

All these People were acquainted with these things only from Experience and Observation, having not yet reduc'd the Knowledge they had acquir'd into any Precepts. 'Tis pretended, *Mercurius Trismegistus*, and *Orpheus* the Philosopher, of which the first was an *Egyptian*, the second a *Thracian*, were the first that began to establish any Rule in the Sciences; but *Orpheus*, according to *Origen*, is very false; and the pretended Work of *Trismegistus* is look'd upon by the Wise Men of later Ages, as supposititious. That likewise which is said of *Zoroastres*, King of the *Bactrians*, and *Vulcan* the Son of King *Nilus*, whom *Sotion* mentions in *Laertius*, that they were more ancient than *Orpheus* and *Trismegistus*, appears to me so Fabulous, that I can say nothing to it. As for the *Jews*, who were without dispute the first Wise Men, being the first People in the World; they, 'tis plain, confin'd themselves wholly to the Study of their Religion, without the least Application to Philosophy. It is true indeed, the Holy Scripture informs us, That * *Solomon* was a great Naturalist; and that he had the most perfect Knowledge of Plants and Animals, but it tells us not of any thing that he left behind him in Writing concerning this Knowledge.

The Original therefore of Philosophy ought not to be taken higher than the Time of

Thales

Thales and *Pythagoras*, who began to make a publick and open Profession of it. *Thales* was a *Phenician*, but dwelling at *Miletum*, the Capital City of *Ionia*, was call'd the *Milesian*: 'Tis believ'd, that he deriv'd from the *Ægyptians* his Elements of Geometry and Astronomy. *St. Austin* assures us, That he took the Principles of his Philosophy from the Works of *Homer*. He was the first that observ'd the Solstices and Equinoxes, and that discover'd to the *Phenicians* the Revolution of the little Bear about the Pole. He taught, that Water was the first Principle of all Things, and that Humidity was the Universal Cause of Generation; he was call'd the first Wise Man amongst the *Greeks*. Those others, to whom the People soon after gave that Title, left behind them some Reflections upon Morality, of which *Laertius* has made a small Collection, but without the least Order or Connexion. *Pherecydes*, who was a *Syrian*, was the first that writ concerning the Universal Principle of Nature: *Pythagoras* was his Scholar, and *Thales* was made Heir to his Writings, which *Pherecydes* sent him just before he died.

Solis attestum diffesumq: brumis, solstis, etisque fieri docuit.
Lib. de Nat. Deor.
Thales ex aqua dixit constare omnia.
Cic. in Bucul.

Anaximander, who studied under *Thales*, enrich'd himself with new Observations, such as his Master had already made; he distinguish'd the Four Elements, he plac'd the Earth in the Centre of the Universe, and by this Situation was the First that made up a System of the World. His Knowledge likewise extended so far as to make a Computation of the Bigness of the Sun and Moon, and to measure the true Distance between the Earth and those two great Luminaries. So that by this distinct Knowledge of the Nature of Things which he first taught, he merited among the *Greeks* the Title

Laer. 2. Theon. Smyrn. in Hist. Astr.

Title of the Founder of Philosophy. *Pythagoras*, arriv'd to the same Glory in *Italy*; and we cannot but own, that in this first Age which pass'd between *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and which was truly the Age of the Birth of Philosophy; this Science made a greater Progress in *Italy* than in *Greece*, because the *Pythagoreans* search'd farther into the Reasons of Natural Things, their Method, or rather their Temper and Constitution being more proper for such deep Enquiries.

Ex Laer.
lib. 8.
Cic. 5.
Tuic.
Apol. 1.
Flor. A.
Gellius
l. 1. c. 9.
Porphyr.
in vit. Py-
thag.

Pythagoras was of *Samos*, he begun his Study under a certain Grammarian call'd *Hermodamas*. This Master inspir'd him with a very strong Desire to advance and improve the Sciences; but by Reason that the Tyrant *Polycrates*, who then reign'd at *Samos*, had rais'd a Persecution against the Men of Learning, *Pythagoras* was forc'd to fly his Country; and having stay'd some time in *Lesbos*, where he studied under *Phercydes*, he came at last and settled in *Italy*, in the City of *Crotona* near *Tarentum*, which Retreat was so agreeable to him, that after his Return out of *Aegypt*, he spent the Residue of his Life there. He was a Man of great Parts, of a very venerable Air; his Gravity gain'd him Respect, and by that Natural Austerity which was in him, he easily perswaded his Scholars to Frugality, which he recommended to them above all things. He had got such an Authority and Command over them, that his Advice was look upon as a Rule which they ought to subscribe to; and when he had decided any thing, it admitted of no more Dispute. So that his Reputation and Character was soon spread abroad, and pass'd from *Crotona* to *Tarentum*, and from *Tarentum* into *Lucania* and *Eccuria*, and from thence to *Rome* in the Reign of *Tarquinius* the First.

He

He had learn'd from *Pherecydes* and the *Egyptians*, that the Soul was Immortal; but as this first Knowledge was but confus'd and intricate, he was at a great Trouble to conceive, how the Soul could exist after its Separation from the Body. So that he chose rather to believe that it pass'd into the Bodies of other Animals; than to persuade himself that it cou'd have any Existence in a State distinct and independent of all Matter. This Reason, in Conjunction with some others, put him upon establishing that Opinion of the *Metempsychosis*, or Transmigration of Souls, and upon introducing that Custom of not eating Flesh, and of not using it in their Sacrifices. He contracted a great Correspondence with the *Jews* in those Voyages he made into *Agypt*. *Josephus* assures us, that he had a *Jew* for his Master. *Theodoret* says, that he was Circumcis'd; and *Clement Alexandrinus* tells us, but without any Grounds, That in the Opinion of some Wise Men in his Time, he pass'd for the Prophet *Ezekiel*. Without Dispute he had some Communication and Intercourse with the Book of *Genesis*, and had read over those other Books of *Moses*; and 'twas undoubtedly from reading this sacred Historian, that he took the *Idea* of those symbolical and figurative Expressions which he made use of to set off his Philosophy. For he was persuaded, according to the Opinion of the *Egyptians*, that to expose the Truth naked to the View of the People, was to profane it. Numbers were the common and ordinary Symbols, by which he express'd his Opinions, and that mysterious Signification which he put upon them, made his Doctrine appear more profound than it really was. He made Numbers the necessary Ingredients in all he thought, and

Pherecydes
Syrus pri-
mus dixit,
animos ho-
minum esse
sempiter-
nos. Cic. 1.
Tusc.

Joseph.
cont. Api-
on. Theod.
l. de Fid.
Clém. Alex.
Strom.
lib. 31.
Corn a
lap in
Prefat ia
Ezech.

all he said, so that he establish'd this as the fundamental Maxim of his Philosophy, viz. That Unity was the Principle of the Generation of all Things; and Plurality of the Corruption. He held likewise, That Man was not Form'd but by the Agreement of certain Numbers; That his Virtue and Health was nothing but pure Harmony, and that his Diseases might be cur'd by the Conformity of certain Sounds with the Degrees of each Distemper. In short, his Mind was so full with this Conceit of Numbers and Harmony, that he invented Notes, and a certain Measure in Musick from the repeated Strokes of a Hammer upon an Anvil; and there is nothing more remarkable in all the ancient Philosophy, than *Pythagoras* his Harmony of the Spheres.

His Scholars were not permitted to talk of these Mysteries, till after Five Years continual Silence. He was the first that Taught the Principles of *Physicks*, which is the true Natural Philosophy. He discover'd the Qualities of each Element, the Figure of their Bodies, the Rotundity of the Earth, and the *Antipodes*; he distinguish'd the Seasons, and observ'd the Difference between the Diurnal and Annual Course of the Sun, and how the Moon borrow'd her Light from the Sun, that Fountain of Heat. But this Wise Man had so involv'd himself in the Meditation of these new Sciences, that he left nothing behind him in Writing, yet this was no hindrance to his School, which was the most Flourishing that ever was in the World, both before and after his Death. The most Celebrated of his Scholars were *Ocellus of Lucania*, *Timeus of Locris*, *Arcytas of Tarentum*, *Philolaus of Crotona*, *Parmenides* and *Zenon of Eleates*, and *Melissus of Samos*. These Learned

Men

Men took the pains to digest their Master's Precepts into a Method, and commit them to writing, of which they compos'd a Body of Philosophy, of which we have nothing now left but a few scatter'd Fragments.

It is true, that *Anaximenes*, *Anaxagoras*, *Xenophanes*, *Heraclitus*, *Archelaus*, and *Democritus*, who succeeded *Anaximander* in Greece, applied themselves very industriously to the Study of Nature. *Anaxagoras* taught, That the first Principle of all Things was Matter uncreated. *Anaximenes* believ'd that 'twas Air, because the first Principle ought to be pure and uncompounded. *Heraclitus* affirm'd that 'twas Fire, and *Democritus* was of Opinion, that 'twas Atomes. Thus the Philosophers of these two Sects, which were the First in the World, equally gave themselves up to the Study of whatever was most secret, and most obscure in Nature. In which, as I have before observ'd, the Sect of *Pythagoras* made a greater Progress than that of *Thales* and *Anaximander*, for *Ocellus*, *Archytas* and *Zenon* form'd the Principles of Logick. *Zenon* compos'd Three Books, in which he distinguish'd the Orations of the Mind and Intellects; *Archytas* dispos'd the Order of the Categories, and *Ocellus* invented the Method of Definitions. *Timæus*, *Parmenides*, *Philolaus* and *Melissus* applied themselves to Natural Philosophy, of which they invented the Principles.

But after all, *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, and their Scholars, apply'd themselves only to the Knowledge of Things Natural. Their Study was limited and confin'd; for it extended no farther than to observe the Course of the Stars, the Qualities of the Elements, and the Rules of Logick, Geometry, Musick, and Physick; and

and though they had compos'd a Sort of Religion in the Honour of their Gods, yet they had not given any Precepts for the Regulation of Manners, the Glory of which was reserv'd for *Socrates*. This Part of Philosophy, the most important of all, was not known before that excellent Philosopher appear'd in the World; nor will it be improper in this Place to observe by what Steps he arriv'd to it, and by what Degrees he arose to that Height of Honour, as to be styl'd by the Oracle at *Delphos*, the Wisest of Men.

Ex Ari-
stoph. Plat.
Xenoph.
Cic. Ælian.
Laer. Gell.
& aliis.

A quo om-
nis quæ est
de vitâ &
moribus
Philosophia
manavit.
3 Tuscul.
ἀδὲς συμ-
ποσίον Εὐρι-
πίδῃ.
Laer. l. 2.
de Socrat.

Socrates was born in a Village of *Attica*, of Parents not inconsiderable; he had a *Genius* proper to all Sciences, and succeeded wonderfully in all; but more particularly adapted to Eloquence; for there was no Cause so bad, but he cou'd set it off with so fair a Gloss as to make it appear Good; which oblig'd the Governours of the Republick to forbid him teaching Rhetorick. He no less excell'd in Poetry; for as 'tis thought that *Lelius* and *Scipio* had their Shares in making the Comedies of *Terence*, so 'tis believ'd that *Socrates* had his in the Tragedies of *Euripides*. The manner of the Philosophers in his Time was to travel up and down, to learn in several what they cou'd not acquire in one Country alone. But *Socrates* lov'd Repose and Meditation, and thought that there was a great deal of Time spent in travelling abroad, which might be employ'd to better Advantage at home; however, in Compliment to his Master *Archelaus*, he went with him to *Samos* to bear him Company, and to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*.

He

He never propos'd his Opinions, but as so many Doubts and Scruples; yet he clear'd them by Comparisons so familiar, that he made the Truth so plain and evident, that it became as it were the very Object of our Senses, and yet left to every one the Pleasure of Conviction, himself at the same time not seeming to think upon it. For this Reason he cou'd not bear with the Doctrine of *Heracitus*. He said that that Philosopher decided too much, and that his manner of teaching was dry, obscure, and unpleasant. *Socrates* his Method was the very Reverse; he never disputed, never denied, never assented to any thing openly; and, under this Uncertainty, he always show'd a submissive tractable Temper, covering the Force and Vigour of his own Abilities under the Disguise of an apparent Simplicity and an unaffected Plainness, and concealing with Pleasure and Delight his own Parts and Ingenuity, that he might discover to the World those of other Men. When he saw any one perverse and obstinate in his Temper, he always sided with him, and made use of his Reasons, that he might dispose him the more readily to hearken to his own, and suffer himself to be persuaded. Though he was the wisest Man of his Age, yet he dreaded nothing more than to pass for a wise Man. *Plutarch* says, that he made Profession of knowing nothing, and affected sometimes a pretended Ignorance; so that seeming in all appearance willing to be taught himself, he insensibly engag'd all those that heard him to submit to his Instructions. But to come nearer his Character; he commonly begun his Entertainments with flattering and cajoling Discourses, with the intricate Windings and Turnings of affected Questions without any

Plut. in
Apolog.
Socrat.

*Socrates
percontan-
do interro-
gandoq; eli-
cere solebat
eorum opi-
niones qui-
buscum
differebat.
Cic. de
Fin.*

*Rhetorum
omnium
exagitator
Socrates.
Cic. Orat.*

*Invicti cu-
piditatibus
animi viri
rigide in-
nocentia,
contemptor
gratiarum & divitiarum.*

Drift or Design, always asking Advice of others, before he gave his own; and when he had once oblig'd those with whom he discours'd to declare their Sentiments, he drew Consequences from them to his own Advantage; and led them on by Degrees from one Absurdity to another till they perceiv'd their Error, and then he show'd them the Path they shou'd tread in, and what Methods they shou'd take for the Discovery of the Truth.

His Conversation was always very agreeable; for he had a wonderful Art in disguising things, and diverting People with their own Faults; upon which Account an Irony, which was so familiar and natural to him, did him admirable Service, especially against the Sophists, whom he lov'd to banter and ridicule; for they were a sort of People, as he himself us'd to say, of a very vitiated Palate in all things. The Ignorance he affected, when in Company with them, was a Mark of his Contempt of them; for when he convers'd with Men of Sense and Reason, he chang'd his manner of Behaviour, and transform'd himself as it were into their Humour, that he might dive into their Thoughts. His greatest Excellency consisted in this complaisant Deportment, so that he always persuaded, because he always pleas'd.

Tit. lib. de Porc. cat. l. 39. Hist.

To this Delicacy and Exquifiteness of Disposition, which was peculiar to him, he had joyn'd the sublimest Virtues; an extraordinary Courage, a firm unshaken Resolution of Mind to support and maintain his Advice, when he thought it useful to the Publick; an Honesty

neſty not to be corrupted, an Integrity ſo diſ-intereſted, as not to be biaſs'd by Preſents from the greateſt Perſons of Quality; to which inimitable Perfections he added thoſe of Frugality, Moderation, Patience, Evenneſs of Temper, and above all, a Contempt of Death beyond Example. For he treated thoſe that condemn'd him, as if he had been himſelf their Judge, and had the ſole Determination of their Lives and Fortunes. The Curioſity of natural Things which had ſo much entertain'd other Philoſophers, did not in the leaſt affect him; his principal Employment and particular Profeſſion was to inſtruct Men how to live well; which he did to the laſt Minute of his Life, as well by his Example as his Doctrines.

* It is true indeed he had ſome ſcandalous Aſperſions caſt upon him at *Athens*, and was publicly ridicul'd and ſported with upon the Theatre by the Wit of *Ariſtophanes*; but the Corruption of the Times and Humours of the People, which could not behold Merit ſo tranſcendent without Obloquy and Detraction, had ſo authoriz'd this Licentiousneſs of the Stage, that there was no Virtue ſecure, at leaſt that of *Socrates*, though pure and unblemish'd, cou'd not eſcape the Cenſures. It was under ſuch a Maſter as this that *Plato* ſtudied Philoſophy, and perfected himſelf in thoſe elevated Precepts of Morality, which *Socrates* had enrich'd him with; and this was the State and Condition of Philoſophy, when *Plato* firſt apply'd himſelf to it, and when *Ariſtotle* was born.

Socrates
in judicio
ca pitis pro
ſeipſo dixit,
ut non ſup-
plex & re-
us, ſed ma-
giſter &
Dominus
videretur
eſſe Judi-
cum. Cic.
I. de Orat.
* Spiritum
contempſit
ne caveret
gravitate.
Val. Max.
I. 6. c. 4.

C H A P. III.

The Person of Plato.

*Platonem
augustiore
conceptu
presatum
dicunt, cum
quedam
Apollinis
figuratio
matri se
miscuisset.
Apol. l. i.
de doct.
Plat.*

NEVER was any Man born in a more lucky Time for Learning than *Plato*; He received his Birth at that famous City of *Athens*, the most flourishing that ever was for Men of Letters, at a Period when all the Sciences shone forth with greater Lustre than ever they had done before. He was a Person of a vast Soul, and of very great Quality, being descended by his Father's side from Royal Ancestors, and by his Mothers from *Solon*; which last was a Pedigree much more honourable than a long Genealogy of Kings. 'Tis reported that his Mother conceiv'd him by the Strength of Imagination, after she had once seen the Statue of *Apollo*; which made some believe that he was his Son, because he was somewhat like that Statue. *Laertius*, *Apulius*, and *St. Jerom* against *Jovinian*, mention this Opinion, which *Origen* looks upon as a meer Fable, in his First Book against *Celsus*. But the *Greeks*, who love to be meddling in every thing, are not content with this; but tell us, if we will give them any Credit, that a Swarm of Bees came one Day, and settled on *Plato's* Cradle, and distill'd their Honey on his Lips; which they look'd upon as a lucky Omen, and from thence concluded that he would be the most eloquent Man of his Age; as if it were a common thing amongst them, for the Birth of great Persons to be signaliz'd by some miraculous Circumstance.

How-

However true or false the Particulars of *Plato's* Nativity might be, this is certain, that he was educated with great Care in all those Exercises which are generally taught Persons of that Quality; he learn'd Grammar, Mathematicks, Musick and Painting. In his first Years he had a mighty *Genius* and Love for Poetry, and compos'd several Odes and Tragedies, which were much valued and esteem'd. In composing those Odes and *Dithyrambicks* which he made in Honour of *Bacchus*, he then first contracted the Habit of using that sort of Cadence, which we so frequently meet with in his Works. *Elian* says, that he made Heroick Verses too; but finding them not equal in Force to those of *Homer*, he burnt them. In short, he follow'd these sort of Studies till about the twentieth Year of his Age; at which time he began to hear *Socrates* with great Industry and Application. This Master, then so celebrated, had a particular Talent at forming great Men. *Criton*, *Aristippus*, *Cebes*, *Xenophon*, *Simias*, and *Euclid* of *Megara*, were all his Scholars at that very time. But having observ'd in *Plato* quicker natural Parts, and a sprightlier *Genius* than in others, he was mightily taken with him. He advis'd him to read *Homer* often; and 'twas by reading this Author that *Plato* brought himself to conceive, and speak things in a lofty, fluent, and agreeable manner; for 'twas then a receiv'd Maxim, amongst Men of Learning, that there was no Knowledge to be got without reading *Homer*, and no reading him without admiring him.

Socrates being accused by the ill Practices of *Anytus* and *Melitus* his Enemies, and made Prisoner, *Plato* rais'd a considerable Sum of Money to procure his Release with his Judges and

his Accusers; but the Cabal was too powerful, and their Tempers poison'd with too much Malice and Rancour to accommodate the Business. Wherefore finding there was no other Remedy, he took the Boldness to harangue it himself before the People, in Justification of his Master's Innocency and Conduct. The Beginning of his Oration had so much mov'd his Auditory, that the Magistrates fearing a Tumult, silenc'd him, being willing to satisfy the cruel Desire of those that endeavour'd to destroy *Socrates*: which they did without much Difficulty, under so corrupted a Government as that was of thirty Tyrants, who had made themselves Masters of the Common-wealth, but were soon after turn'd out by *Thrasibulus*.

The Philosophers that were then at *Athens* were so alarm'd at the Death of *Socrates*, that most of them fled from the City to avoid the Injustice and Cruelty of the Government. *Plato* retir'd to *Megara*, a City of *Achaia*, to carry on his Study of Philosophy under *Euclide*, who liv'd in that City, and was one of *Socrates* his first Scholars. From *Megara* he went to *Cyrene* to be taught by a great Mathematician, nam'd *Theodorus*, with whom he compleated himself in the Knowledge of that Science.

But as nothing cou'd satisfy his Thirst after Knowledge, he made a Voyage into *Italy* to have a Conference with *Eurymus*, *Philolaus*, and *Archytas* the second of that Name; all which were at that time the most celebrated of the Followers of *Pythagoras*, whose Doctrine was now become famous in *Greece*; and having div'd into the most profound and mysterious Secrets of the *Pythagorean* Philosophy, he pass'd from thence into *Egypt* to learn the Theology of their Priests. *Euripides*, who went a-
long

long with him in this Voyage, falling sick in *Egypt*, oblig'd *Plato* to stay a great while in these Parts, which gave him Leisure and Opportunity to study the Religion, and Mysteries of the *Ægyptians*. He had likewise some Communication with the Books of *Moses*, by means of the *Jews*, who were very numerous in *Ægypt* after the Captivity. *Clemens Alexandrinus* assures us, that he studied under one *Sechnuphis*, a learned Man of *Heliopolis*, who was a *Jew*. And * *St. Austin* once believ'd that *Plato* had some Conferenee with the Prophet *Jeremy* in his Voyage to *Ægypt*; but having made an exact † Computation of the time, he found that that Prophet was dead above threescore Years before *Plato* came into *Ægypt*.

Arist. de
Plat. apud
Euseb. l. 1.
strom.

Nonnulli
putarunt
Platonem
quando per-
rexit in
Ægyptum
Jeremiam
audivisse.

* Aug. l. 8. de Civit. Dei. Aug. l. 2. de Doct. † Idem lib. 8. de Civit Dei.

This Philosopher having understood the most secret Mysteries of the *Ægyptians*, had the Curiosity to travel into *Persia* to consult with the *Magi* about the Religion of that Country, designing to go even to the *Indies*, and give a Visit to the *Brachmans* to learn their Manners and Customs; but he was prevented by the Wars in *Asia*, which had begun to divide all *Greece*, so that he was oblig'd to return to *Athens*. The most honourable Profession at that time amongst the *Athenians*, was the teaching of Philosophy, which *Plato*, as soon as he arriv'd there, undertook, and in a very little while drew many after him. He set up his School in the Academy just without the City, which Place afterwards gave the Name to his Sect. *Isocrates* was one of the first that brought *Plato* into Repute; they had contracted a very intimate Friendship with one another.

Laertius makes mention of a Debate these Two Great Men had in a Country-House, upon the Subject of Poetry; but this Discourse has not reach'd our Times.

The Prodigies which happen'd in *Sicily* at the Conflagration of Mount *Ætna*, so surpriz'd and confounded all the Philosophers at *Athens*, that *Plato* left his School to satisfy his Curiosity, in a Matter so extraordinary and unaccountable. He went into the Island, to observe, as near as he cou'd, the principal Concave of that Prodigious Fire, which sometimes broke forth with dreadful Violence. *Dionysius* the Tyrant reign'd then at *Syracuse*, he was a very Ill Man; *Cicero* give us his Character in one Word, for he tells us, that after he had Robb'd a Temple, out of his own Country, and was returning by Sea to *Sicily* with a Prosperous Gale, he said to his Companions, *You see, my Friends, how the Gods favour Sacrilege.* *Plato* went to see him, and instead of Flattering him, as his Courtiers did, he severely reprov'd him for the Disorders of his Court, and with such an Air of Authority, that the Tyrant was surpriz'd; and not being us'd to hear such disagreeable Truths, grew enrag'd with the Philosopher, and wou'd have put him to Death, but that *Dion* and *Aristomenes*, at that time the Favourites of that Prince, and formerly *Plato's* Scholars, interceded in behalf of the Philosopher, and so sav'd his Life. *Dionysius* was content to deliver him into the Hands of an Envoy of the *Lacedemonians*, who were then at War with the *Athenians*. This Envoy touching upon the Coast of *Ægina*, sold him for a Slave to a Merchant of *Cyrene*, who as soon as he had bought him, sent him away to *Athens*.

*Cum fa-
num Locris
exilasset,
navigabat
Syracusas,
eumque se-
cundissi-
mum cur-
sum tene-
ret, videtis,
inquit, a-
mici, quam
bona a
Diis im-
mortalibus
navigatio
detur sa-
crilegis.
L. 3. de
Nat. Deor.*

Some

Some time after, he made a Second Voyage into *Italy*, in the Reign of *Dionysius* the Younger, who sent *Dion*, his Minister and Favourite, to invite him to Court, and to teach him the Art of Governing his People well. *Plato* accepted of the Invitation, and went with a Design to Inspire this Prince with Notions more mild and gentle, than those that had been infus'd into his Father; and to incline him to that Form of Government which he himself had contriv'd, and of which has left us the Principal Maxims in his Book of the *Commonwealth*. But the great Correspondence *Dion* had contracted with this Philosopher, rais'd some Jealousy in the Tyrant. *Dion* was disgrac'd, and *Plato* sent back again to *Athens*.

Dion being admitted into Favour again with his Master, persuaded him to recal *Plato*; *Dionysius* receiv'd him with all the Marks of Good Will and Friendship, that a Great Prince cou'd give. He sent out a very fine Galley to meet him, and went himself in a magnificent Chariot, attended with all his Court, to receive him: But his suspicious Humour, and uneven Temper, hurry'd him into his former Mistrust. *Plato* was indeed offended at it, and complain'd; *Dionysius* incens'd at those Complaints, resolv'd his Death; but *Archytas*, who had great Interest with the Tyrant, being inform'd of it by *Dion*, beg'd Pardon for the Philosopher; which the Tyrant granted, and *Plato* was permitted to retire.

Ælian wou'd perswade us, that *Plato* taught *Dion* the Secret how to Dispatch the Tyrant, and deliver the People from Oppression; * *Cicero* is of the same Opinion, but upon what Authority 'tis grounded, I know not; there is very little appearance of Truth in it, from the

*Platonis
sapientiæ
antistiti
Dionysius
tyrannus,
vittatam
navem mi-
sit obviam;
ipse qua-
drigis al-
bis egredi-
entem exce-
pit. Plin.
l. 7. c. 30*

* *Dionem
Plato non
lingue so-
lum, verum
etiam ani-
mi & vir-
tutis magi-
ster, ad li-
berandam
patriam
impulit.
Cic. l. 3.
de Orat.*

Tem-

Temper and Constitution of *Plato*, which was free from all Violence. But however this may be, the People of *Athens* receiv'd him at his Return with universal Joy, and wou'd have Complimented him with the Administration of the Government; but he declin'd the Honour, chusing rather to retire from all Publick Business, that he might Employ himself with greater Ease and Quiet, in the Contemplation of Natural Things, and the Study of Philosophy. He gave away his Estate amongst his Brothers, reserving to himself only a little Seat in the Country, with a small Garden, where he might pass away the Remainder of his Life, without Disturbance or Molestation. Liberty was a thing he valued at so high a Rate, that he could never be prevail'd upon to Marry. In short, he ever after liv'd a very Peaceable, Happy Life, as being a Man always of an unblemish'd Character, and free from Ambition. His former Days he spent in the Service of the State at *Tenarus*, at *Corinth*, and in the Isle of *Delos*; and his latter in the Study of Philosophy: He was much inclin'd to the Opinions of *Heracitus*, in Points of *Physicks*, to those of *Pythagoras* in Points of *Metaphysicks*, and to those of *Socrates* in Points of *Morality*; and from these Three Masters, he gather'd a Compleat System of Philosophy.

He always behav'd himself very civilly to the other Philosophers, and convers'd with them in a Genteel manner; which was a thing very rare in those Days, when Envy rag'd so much among them, and every one us'd the utmost Efforts to Strengthen and Establish his Party. He sometimes entertain'd *Diogenes* the Cynick, who was but a meer Pretender to

Phi-

Philosophy, a Man of very little Worth, and of such an odd Temper, that he wou'd be always Quarrelling, that he might seem Independent to all the World ; he was of such a Snarling, Surly, Morose Disposition, that he was continually Censuring and Abusing even his very best Friends, such as *Plato* was, at whose Table he was so often welcome. One Day, *Plato* having invited him to Dinner, with some of his Friends of *Sicily*, he gave Orders to have his Dining-room very finely furnish'd for the Reception of his Guests ; *Diogenes* being incens'd at this Gallantry of *Plato*, and always catching at any Opportunity to Criticize upon his Actions, began to tread upon the Tapestry and other Moveables with his dirty Feet, with this Brutish Sarcasin, *I trample under Feet the Pride of Plato* ; to which *Plato* wisely reparteed, *But with a greater Pride*.

Tho' *Plato* had a Soul fit and proper for Higher, and more Elevated Things, yet he cou'd not sometimes forbear Raillery, but 'twas always inoffensive ; and he was never known to be Censorious, but in order to make Conversation more agreeable. His Dialogues are full of those Pleasant Turns, he us'd in common Discourse ; which shews us the Difference between Men that have only Wit, and those that have Wit and Good Breeding too. 'Twas upon this Account, that *Plato* so strongly recommended it to his Scholars, and particularly to *Dion* and *Xenocrates*, to Sacrifice to the Graces : And we may properly say, that he had perform'd that Religious Worship to them himself ; for 'twas impossible to Hear him, and not Assent to his Doctrine ; to See him, and not to Admire him. There are certain Pieces of Epigrams, in *Apuleius* and the *Anthology*, which have

Nos inju-
ria Dice-
archus ac-
cusat, qui
authore no-
stro Platone
amori au-
thoritatem
tribuere-
mus.

¶ Tusc.

Multi au-
ditorum u-
triusque
sexus in
ejus Philo-
sophia flo-
ruerunt.
Apul.

have some Agreement with the Delicacy of his Wit, some Resemblance of his Spritely Genius; but *Marcilius Ficinus* says, those Verses are too Soft to be *Plato's*, and not at all answerable to the Gravity of that Great Man. He assures us too, that they were forg'd by *Aristippus* only to blast *Plato's* Reputation, and bring his Virtues in question. *Dicearchus*, *Athenaeus*, *Aulugella*, seem all to favour the Philosopher, and believe 'em to be Supposititious; but if there be any of those Epigrams, which may, upon any good Foundation, any warrantable Authority, be ascrib'd to him, 'tis without doubt that which is so much boasted of by Antiquity, upon a young Man whom *Plato* lov'd. At least *Apuleius*, *Tasso*, and some others of the Moderns, have translated them as *Plato's*; and the Universal Approbation they have met with, is an Argument to me of the Truth of this Opinion. As to his Amours, with that *Colophonian*, of which *Laertius* and *Athenaeus* speak, and the Epigram the *Antibology* makes mention of, there may be something in it, tho' *St. Austin* wou'd give no Credit to it. There are certain Weaknesses and Infirmities in Men, which Pagan Philosophy had not the Power to remedy.

Apuleius tells us, in Commendation of *Plato's* Doctrine, that 'twas much Studied by the Ladies, and mightily in Vogue with the Virtuosa's of that soft Sex. *Themistbius* informs us of a certain Lady, that having read over some Books of his Commonwealth, put on the Habit of a Man, and came to *Athens*, and Studied some time in that Disguise under *Plato*, without being discover'd; *Laertius* and *St. Clemens Alexandrinus* give us an account of some other Women that did the same. This

was

was that which gave Rise to several Scandalous Reflections, from which all the Wisdom and Gravity of *Plato* could not secure him. It was a very difficult matter to keep such things as these private, in a City so lewd and debauch'd as *Athens*; where the general Diversion and Entertainment was, to Examine into, and Censure the Conduct of one another. However, we ought not to give too much Credit to *Aristippus*, or *Antisthenes*, of whom *Athenæus* speaks, nor to *Athenæus* himself, nor to rely upon *Apuleius*, *George of Trebisonde*, and others, in forming a Judgment of what relates to the Carriage and Behaviour of *Plato*: their Testimonies may be justly suspected, because of the Prejudice they had conceiv'd, and often express'd, against this Philosopher. *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, *Valerius Maximus* and *Photius* give us so many Examples of his Moderation in all things, that throughout the whole Course of his Life we shall meet with no Instances of his Ill Conduct; tho' there are, I must confess, some slight Suspensions of his Ill Management, in some Particulars, of some unjustifiable Methods he had undertaken. The Discourse which he makes in the *Phædrus*, against *Lysias*, is indeed a Confirmation of his Wrong Proceedings in some Cases. In short, he was so far above Envy, as to despise all that their Malicious Tongues cou'd invent against him: Nor was he ever known to Speak Ill of any Person; which was a Virtue very rare and uncommon among the Philosophers of his Time.

'Tis true there was some Coldness and Indifference betwixt him and *Xenophon*, though they had been both the favourite Scholars of *Socrates*. *Aulugella* reports, that *Xenophon* hav-

Aulug.
l. 14. c. 3.
ing

ing read the two first Books of *Plato's* Commonwealth, and envying him that Success they had met with in the World, wrote that curious Piece of the *Institution of Cyrus*, with a design to oppose the Example of Monarchy, which was a more noble and a more compleat Form of Government, to that Idea of a Commonwealth, which *Plato* would have establish'd. *Plato's* Answer to this Work is in few Words, which we find in his Third Book of Laws: *That Cyrus indeed was a great General, but so incapable of giving Rules for the Government of a Kingdom, that he knew not how to manage his own private Affairs, how to rule his own Family.* *Cicero*, in his Epistle to his Brother concerning his Conduct in the Province he was made Governor of, says, That the Institution of *Cyrus* is only a Draught or Scheme of what ought to be done in the Education of a young Prince, and the Image of a perfect Government: And that as to the History of *Cyrus*, there is no Foundation of Truth in it. *Hermogenes* in his Characters, looks upon the Adventure of *Abdaces* and *Pantaea*, which is one of the greatest Ornaments of that Work, to be but a meer Fable.

It is truly somewhat strange, that two such great Men as *Plato* and *Xenophon*, who had studied under the same Master, and treated of the same Subjects, and almost after the same Manner, shou'd be so reserv'd as not to speak to one another; which makes me believe, that they had no great Love and Affection for one another; and I find it to be the Opinion of those great Men which came immediately after them, that there was no good understanding between them. *Aulugella* says, That they avoided the very naming one another in their Works;

Παιδείας
δ' οὐκ ἐπ-
θῶς ἡρῶαι
τὸ πᾶσι-
πᾶν,
ex Gell.
loc. cit.
sumpt. ex
Athen.
Cyrus à
Xenophonte
non ad hi-
storia fidem
scriptus,
sed ad effi-
giem justī
Imperii. Ad
Quint.
frat. Ep. I.
Hermog.
l. 2. de pr.
orat.

Athen.
l. II.
Aul. 9.
l. 14. c. 3.

Works ; but yet 'tis most certain, that they did make mention the one of the other : For *Xenophon* speaks of *Plato*, in the third Book of his Memoirs ; and *Plato* of *Xenophon*, in the third Book of his Law. That little Esteem which *Plato* had for *Aristippus*, was better grounded. For *Aristippus* had false Virtues, and made an Ostentation of his very Vices. So that *Plato* did with greater pain behold the Pride and Vanity of this Philosopher, than he did the Brutishness of *Diogenes*. He very pleasantly ridicul'd the different Manners of these two Men ; but the Scorn and Contempt he cast upon them, did not in the least disturb his quiet, his Virtue being too solid to be shaken by so slight a thing. That which made it more firm and unmoveable, was that it was supported by sincere thoughts of Religion ; for he every day gave thanks to the Gods, that he had had *Socrates* for his Master, and that they had made him a Man ; which he reckon'd amongst the number of those Graces he had receiv'd from Heaven, being perswaded of the *Metempsychosis*.

To conclude, being come to the Age of fourscore Years and one, he died a very easie peaceable Death, in the midst of an Entertainment he had made for his Friends upon his Birth-day. Both the Life and Death of this Philosopher were very calm and undisturb'd. Beside the Advantages of a noble Birth, he had a large share of Wit, which was naturally sweet and easie, and a vast comprehensive Capacity : He was honour'd by his Country-men, esteem'd by Strangers, and ador'd by his Scholars : The Love he had for Study, was his sovereign Pleasure and Delight, which he enjoy'd to the very last Moment of his Life. But
his

his Study had none of those melancholy and sad Meditations, which darken the Soul, and turn the Man into a Brute. On the contrary, he was persuaded that the greatest advantage of Knowledge was to please and divert those whom he would instruct, and that 'twas better to know how to Live, than how to Discourse. The Sweetness of his Nature made him belov'd by all that knew him, and his Knowledge gain'd him Admiration with all succeeding Ages. He was a Man of such universal Esteem, that going one day from *Syracuse* to the Place where they celebrated the *Olympick* Games, which was the general Assembly of all *Greece*, as soon as he appear'd, they quitted their Sports and Shows to see him. He was belov'd and highly valued by all great Persons in his Life time, and after his Death, he had Kings and Common wealths that erected Statues and dedicated Altars to him. All these Qualities obtain'd for him the Name and Title of the *Divine*, and his Memory is become sacred to all Ages. Such was the Merit and Glory of *Plato*; let us now proceed to speak of *Aristotle*.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Person of Aristotle.

HE was of *Stagira* a small City in *Macedonia*, his Father's Name was *Nicomachus*, formerly Physician to *Amyntas* the Grandfather of *Alexander*. Some pretend, that *Nicomachus* deriv'd his Original from *Æsculapius* the Son of *Apollo*.

Apollo. *Aristotle* lost both his Father and his Mother, while he was an Infant. *Proxenes*, being a Friend and old Acquaintance of his Father's, took care of his Education; and brought him up at some distance from *Athens*, but with very ill Management; for *Aristotle* having begun to Study Grammar, and afterwards Poetry, left those Studies, and enter'd upon a Course of Lewdness and Debauchery, and for some time abus'd the Indulgence of his Tutor. However, he succeeded in Poetry, witness that Poem he compos'd upon the Death of those Heroes that were slain at the Siege of *Troy*, which *Eustathius* and *Porphyry* make mention of. Having wasted a good part of the Estate his Father left him, by a loose and profligate way of Life, he lifted himself into the Army when *Lyfistratus* was *Prator*. Æl. l. 5. c. 9. Athen. l. 8. Euseb. l. 15. de præp. Evang. But not finding himself very successful in that Profession, he went to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle what Course he shou'd take, which commanded him to go to *Athens* and apply himself to Philosophy.

He was now about seventeen Years old: *Olympiodorus* says, That he first began this Study under *Socrates*: *Ammonius* and the Cardinal *Bessaron* are of the same Opinion, but *Laertius* differs from it. If we consult *Eusebius*, we shall find that *Socrates* died in the third Year of the eighty fifth Olympiad; and that *Aristotle*, was Born in the ninety ninth; which Account agrees with the Computation made by *Apollodorus* and *Dionysius Halicarnassens*.

'Tis therefore more probable, that *Aristotle* began his Studies under *Plato*, in the seventeenth Year of his Age, and finish'd them not till about the thirty seventh. But because he had spent his Estate, he was forc'd to live for some time upon Traffick, and so turn'd Pedlar, and

Ælian ex
l. 5. c. 9.
Athen. ex
l. 8.

cry'd sweet Powder and Perfumes up and down the Streets at *Athens*. 'Tis certain, that he follow'd his Studies with so much Diligence and Application, that although he found the School of *Plato* fill'd with Men of excellent Parts, yet in a very short time he out-did those that out-did all others. He was of an indefatigable Labour and Industry, and his Master was surpriz'd with the Eagerness, wherewith he run over all that had been written upon Philosophy, and all that was at that time in Repute. *Plato* call'd him, the Soul of his School; and when any Indisposition or Business kept *Aristotle* away, they us'd to say, That Philosophy in truth was not there, and wou'd not decide any Controversie without his Advice.

His Thirst after Knowledge, and Desire of Learning, increas'd every day: *Laertius* observes, that he Eat but little, and Slept less: And that to resist the Drowsiness of Sleep, he always held one Hand out of Bed, with a Ball of Brass in it, which falling into a Basin, was to awake him with the Noise: *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that *Alexander* the Great made use of the same Device. But, as 'tis common for Men of great Parts and profound Abilities to retire within themselves and give themselves up wholly to Meditation, without making any Figure abroad; so the Reputation of *Aristotle*, made very little noise in the World, during those twenty Years that he was *Plato's* Scholar: For he convers'd with no body, and abstain'd from all sorts of Diversion, that he might not rob himself of one Moment's Study. *Plato*, who thought that Excess of Labour might prejudice his Health, oftentimes caution'd him to take care of it; but his Inclination was more prevalent than the Authority of his Master, and

Alexander
anea con-
cha supposi-
ta brachio
extra cubi-
le protento
pilum tene-
bat argen-
teum ut
cum nervo-
rum rigo-
rem sopor
laxasset,
infusus, tin-
nitus som-
num ab-
rumperet.
Am. Mar-
cel. l. 16.

and his melancholy Temper, which gave him up entirely to Contemplation, bore him out through all.

From hence it was, that he went to the depth of things with so much Vigour, and dispos'd them into great Order when he had search'd them out. Upon the same Account it is, that *Galen* commends *Aristotle* as the First and Chief of the Philosophers, for having div'd to the Bottom of the general Causes of all Beings, and giving an exact particular Detail of them. *Clemens Alexandrinus* assures us, that *Aristotle* had, at *Athens*, Conferences with a Jew, to instruct him in the Religion of the *Egyptians*. *Eusebius* is of the same Opinion, and both seem to ground it upon the Testimony of a *Peripatetician* nam'd *Clearchus*,, and 'tis indeed very probable, that this Philosopher, to supply the Defect of a Voyage into *Ægypt*, which was then thought necessary for the attainment of Knowledge, contented himself thus to understand the Mysteries and Religion of the *Egyptians*, and save so much time as wou'd have been spent in the bare Travelling into those Parts.

Gal. de
nat. po-
tent.

Strom. l. i.

Clear. lib.
de somno.

It was about fifteen Years after *Aristotle* had studied under *Plato*, that he began to have Conceptions different from those of his Master. As he was a Man of good solid Sense, and desirous to reduce all his Thoughts under certain Rules, and those founded upon Reason; he cou'd not take up with and acquiesce in those wandring Principles, on which *Plato* seem'd to establish his Doctrine. The Boldness of *Aristotle*, to maintain his Opinions against *Plato*, even in his own School, made his Master conceive some displeasure against him, and find fault with his vain expensive Habit, as not conform-

able to the Profession of a Philosopher. For truly, *Aristotle* did begin to be nice and finical, and took too much care in setting himself off, but *Plato* seem'd not to take any notice of it, till *Aristotle* had contradicted him in his Opinions. 'Tis certain, that the Scholar, by examining and penetrating into the Opinions of his Master, made his Master pronounce him of a cavilling, captious Temper, and of a Spirit of Contradiction. This gave occasion to *Helladius* and *Ælian* to say, That *Plato* complain'd of it with high Resentment, and that he treated his Scholar, as an ungrateful Wretch, with Ignominy and Disgrace.

Euseb. de
præp.
Evan. Am-
mon. in
vit. Arist.

Laer. in
Plat.

Laertius pretends, that the Malice of *Aristotle* against *Plato* was carried to such a Height, as to put him upon the Attempt of erecting a School in opposition to his, even whilst *Plato* was alive. But *Eusebius* and *Ammonius*, clear him from this Imputation: And *Philoponus* assures us, that *Cabrius* and *Timotheus* who were then at the Helm of Affairs, and related to *Plato*, wou'd never have suffer'd it. It cannot be denied, but that *Aristotle* did hold some Opinions contrary to those of *Plato*, nor does there seem any occasion of making an Apology for him in this Case; since nothing is freer than the Mind, and the Acknowledgments that are due to a Master, do not lay the least Obligation upon a Scholar to espouse all his Opinions. After all, 'tis certain that *Aristotle* did not break through those common Ties of good Nature and Gratitude, in relation to things Essential; for he preserv'd a very great Respect for *Plato*, even to his Death; and afterwards, to let the World know what a Veneration he had for so extraordinary a Man, he wrote a Discourse in Honour of his Memory; and erected an Altar to

to Him as to a God, the Inscription of which is remaining to this very Day in the *Antibology*.

These Acknowledgments of *Aristotle* to his Master, are so much the more to be commended, in that he had some Reason to be dissatisfied, some grounds to be disgusted with *Plato*. For *Plato*, had made choice of *Spencippus* to succeed him in his School, a Man not half so deserving as *Aristotle*. It was this in all probability that made him quit *Athens* and retire to *Atarnia*, a small City in the Province of *Mysia* towards the *Hellepont*, where his old Friend *Hermias* was King. This Prince receiv'd him so kindly, that he gave him his Sister *Pythias* in Marriage, which soon carried off that spleennetick Humour he had contracted upon the Slight *Plato* had put upon him. But *Aristotle* was so in love with this Princess, and so transported with her Charms, that he offer'd Sacrifices to her, with the same Ceremonies as were perform'd to the Goddess *Ceres*, and compos'd a Hymn in honour of *Hermias* his Benefactor, after the manner of those that are made to *Apollo*. And yet *Athenaus*, who never pardons *Aristotle* upon any account, justifies him in relation to this Hymn: And *Aristotle* the *Peripatetician* affirms, that the Story of those Oblations to *Pythias* was mere Calumny rais'd upon him by a *Pythagorean* nam'd *Lycon*.

Arist.
apud Eu-
seb. lib.
con. Phil.
in notis
Casaub.
supra Di-
og. Laer.
in *Arist.*

Aristotle staid three Years with *Hermias*. But that Prince being taken Prisoner by *Memnon* General of the King of *Persia*'s Army, this Philosopher retir'd to *Mitylene* the Capital City of *Lesbos*, where he continued for some time. *Philip* King of *Macedon* had now made himself

*Neq; vero
fugit sapi-
entissimum
Regem
Philippum,
qui Aristo-
telem A-
lexandro
filio docto-
rem accie-
rit, à quo
eodem ille
& agendi
præcepta
acciperet & loquendi.*

Master of *Thrace*, and of the best part of *Greece*; and having heard somewhat of the Reputation of *Aristotle*, he wrote a very civil Letter to him to invite him to come and take Care of the Education of his Son *Alexander*, who was then about fourteen Years of Age. *Aristotle* accepted of the Offers made him; and in those eight Years, he was with that young Prince, he taught him Eloquence, Physicks, Ethicks, and Politicks; especially what was most obscure in those Sciences, together with a particular sort of Philosophy, which, as *Plutarch* affirms, this Great Man taught no other Person.

*Plutar. in
Alex.*

Philip and *Olympias* his Queen, seeing the Progress their Son had made under the Tuition of so excellent a Master, commanded Statues to be erected in Honour of *Aristotle*, and plac'd them amongst those the People had set up for them. *Philip* gave Orders for the rebuilding of *Stagira*, which had been demolish'd by the late Wars, and, in Favour of his Son's Master, restor'd the Inhabitants to their ancient Liberty. *Alexander*, for his part, had such an Esteem for *Aristotle*, that he profess'd publicly, that he was more oblig'd to him than to *Philip*; for his Father had only made him a Prince, but his Master had made him a Man: And undoubtedly there could be no less than so great a Master as *Aristotle*, to form so great a Prince as *Alexander*. 'Tis the Glory of *Socrates*, that he had such a Scholar as *Plato*, and of *Plato*, that he was Master to *Aristotle*; how much more honourable must it then be for *Aristotle* to have brought up such a Scholar as *Alexander*, who deserv'd to be Master of the whole

whole World? But *Lucian*, who spares no body, would have us believe that *Aristotle* gave *Alexander* an ill Education, that he abus'd the Goodness of his Nature, and became the grossest and most fulsome Flatterer of all his Court. But *Lucian* is a Railer, who, to support a Character that best pleased his Fancy, did not stick to turn every thing into Burlesque, even Religion it self, Philosophy, and Loyalty, the three things of the World which must deserve Respect and Veneration.

After all this, *Aristotle* lost the Favour of *Alexander* by a very strange Accident. *Calisthenes*, one of that Prince's Courtiers, and a near Relation of *Aristotle's*, was us'd to talk somewhat too freely, even in the Audience of *Alexander* himself, who had often bore with him: But the young Man, out of too austere a Virtue, too severe and rigid a Temper, having one day too publickly let fall some things in Reflection upon the King's Conduct, was disgrac'd at Court; and, as 'tis pretended, in Revenge, too easily hearken'd to the Propositions made by *Hermolaus*, and some others of the Nobility, against the Life of *Alexander*. The Conspiracy was discover'd, *Calisthenes* expos'd to the *Lions*, and *Aristotle* suspected of having been in the Plot.

But whilst the Desire of Glory hurries on *Alexander* to the Conquest of the whole World, *Aristotle* retires to *Athens*, where he found a very favourable Reception. For *Philip* had, in Consideration of him, been formerly very gracious to the *Athenians*. After the Death of *Speucippus*, Master of *Plato's* School, *Xenocrates* succeeded, and *Aristotle* finding the Vacancy fill'd, was now resolv'd to set up a School of his own. The Design he had of teaching af-

Luc. in
Dial. Alex.
& Diog.

Calisthenes
interiit
haud quic-
quam aula
& assen-
tantium
ingenio ac-
commoda-
tus. Curt.
l. 8.

Plutar. in
Alex.

Plutar. in
Alex.

ter a different manner from that of *Plato*, and of receding from his Opinions, was the chief Motive that put him upon this Project, and confirm'd him in the Resolution. The Magistrates of *Athens*, willing to make some Acknowledgment of his Merit, gave him the *Lycaum* to set up his new School in; which Place, in a little time, became famous by the Concourse of his Scholars. It was, at this time, he compos'd his principal Works: yet *Plutarch* says, that he had already writ his Books of Natural and Moral Philosophy, of Metaphysics and Rhetoric: and tells us likewise, that *Alexander* was very much displeased with him for having made publick what he had taught him; in which *Alexander* was not just to rob *Aristotle* of so much lawful Glory, and Posterity of such useful Works. But *Alexander* pretended to raise himself above all the World, and as well by his Knowledge as his Power, and to exceed all Mankind as far in the one as the other, so much he affected Glory.

The same *Plutarch* informs us, that *Aristotle*, disgusted at *Alexander's* Suspicions of him, and at the Presents he had sent to *Xenocrates*, resented it so highly, that he was a Confederate in the Conspiracy of *Antipater*. *Xiphilinus* does in some manner authorize this Opinion, when he describes the foolish Vanity of *Caracalla*. This extravagant Emperor, who affected to resemble *Alexander* in all things, expell'd all the *Peripatetick* Philosophers out of *Alexandria*, imagining that *Aristotle* had in Effect contributed to the Death of *Alexander*: But with Deference both to *Plutarch* and *Xiphilinus*, this Opinion has no Foundation, at least it made no Impression upon the Mind of that Prince; who, even after the Death of *Calisthenes*, and in the very

very Height of all his Conquests, commanded *Aristotle* to apply himself to the Consideration of Animals. He sent him eight hundred Talents to bear the Expences of that Study, and gave him a vast number of Huntsmen and Fishermen, to work according to his Orders, and bring him in from every part, whereon he might make his Observations.

This Liberality, and these Cares, were Testimonies of the Greatness of Soul that was in this Prince, as well as Tokens of the little Impression that Suspicion had made upon his Mind, that *Aristotle* was concern'd in the Conspiracy of *Calisthenes*, which *Quintus Curtius* believes to be false.

Alexandro Rege inflammata cupidine animalium naturas noscendi, delegataque commentatione Ari-

stotele summo in omni scientia viro, aliquot hominum millia in totius Asia Græciæque tractu ei parere iussa, &c. Plin. l. 8. c. 16. Athen. l. 9. Elian. l. 4. Var. Hist. c. 19.

Calisthenes iniit in caput Regis consilii innoxius. Curt. l. 8.

As for the Conspiracy of *Antipater*, who poison'd *Alexander*, of which *Plutarch* accuses *Aristotle*, it has less Appearance of Truth than the former; for *Aristotle* liv'd at *Athens* in Peace and Quiet, under the Protection of that Prince, and was not expos'd to the Persecution of his Enemies till after *Alexander's* Death; which was then rais'd against him by the cunning Artifices, and at the Instigation of a Priest of *Ceres*, nam'd *Eurymedon*. This Priest accus'd *Aristotle* of Impiety; and, to colour over his Accusation, and give it Credit, he produc'd the Hymn which this Philosopher had formerly compos'd in Honour of *Hermias*; and instanc'd in those Sacrifices he had made to that Prince's Sister, as to the Goddess *Ceres*. *Aristotle*, to clear himself, writ a very large Apology to the Magistrates, not being willing to expose

expose his Person in his own Defence ; for he wanted the Advantages of Elocution, being very defective in his Speech, having a small and unpleasant Voice.

Propter morum rectitudinem pulsus Athenis. Alb. Mag. V. Eth. c. 1. Strab. l. 10. & Suid.

Just. in adm. ad Gent. Greg. Nazian. contra Jul. Nonnus in Greg. Theol. Joan. Valen. Ang. Cel. Rhodig. l. 19. Left. antiqu. Pic. Mirand.

After this Philosopher had thus deliver'd in a Justification of himself to the Bench, he retired to *Calcis*, a City of *Eubœa*, being apprehensive of a severe Sentence from the People of *Athens*, who were very nice in Matters of Religion. The sole Remembrance of *Socrates* his Case upon the like Accusation, raised in *Aristotle* such a dread of falling into the Hands of this People, that some believe he chose rather to poison himself, than trust to the Mercy of his Enemies. St. *Justin* and St. *Gregory Nazianzen* say, that he died with Discontent, because he cou'd not comprehend the Cause of the ebbing and flowing of the *Euripus*. Upon which several of the Moderns have invented this Story, which has since very much prevail'd, that *Aristotle* threw himself into the *Euripus*, saying these Words, *Since I can't comprehend Thee, thou shalt comprehend me.*

Censorin. de die nat. Amm. l. 16.

Others believe that he died a natural Death, of the Colick : *Censorinus* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* assure us, that he was very subject to that Distemper. This last Opinion seems to me the most likely ; for what Probability is there that a Man of so much Sense and Prudence as *Aristotle*, should determine to poison himself ; and that too after he had secur'd himself by a wise Retreat from the Power of the *Athenians* ; or that he should give himself up to Melancholy and Despair, because he cou'd not comprehend the ebbing and flowing of a Tide, who had so often met with several things that

set bounds to his Knowledge, and of which he was content to be ignorant? He died in his great Climacterick Year, Sixty three, at which Age *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* died, but a violent Death. The People of *Stagyra* took away his Body, and erected Altars to him. He left behind him a Daughter by *Pythias*, and a Son by another Wife. The Daughter was married a second time to a younger Son of *Demaratus*, King of *Lacedemon*, and the Son was that *Nicomachus*, whom he so dearly lov'd, and to whom he dedicated his Books of Morality.

C H A P. V.

A Comparison between their Manners and their Parts.

TO conclude this first Part, which respects only the Person of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, I think we may form this Judgment of their particular Qualifications and Endowments from the Abridgment I have made of their Lives. The Behaviour of *Plato* seem'd more innocent, and his Manners more uncorrupted, and his Conversation more agreeable than *Aristotle's*. Birth and good Education, without doubt, gave these Advantages to *Plato*, who was brought up like a Person of Quality. *Aristotle* was sometimes reduc'd to the Necessity of turning Empirick for a Livelihood; so that the unhappy Condition of his Affairs reduc'd him to the miserable Circumstances of a struggling and precarious Life. *Plato*, at his Return from his

Tra-

Travels, liv'd retire. *Aristotle* was a long time at Court, expos'd to the Tumult and Hurry of a Court-Life, and to all the Adventures of a Courtier. His Natural Inclinations principally appear'd at the Court of *Hermias*, where he acted without Constraint: His Passion for *Pythias*, the Adorations he paid her, and all the irregular Extravagancies of his Love; the manner of his leaving that Prince, upon being disgrac'd; his Jealousies of *Speucippus*; his irreconcilable Hatred of *Xenocrates*; the Intrigues he carried on in the Courts of *Philip* and *Alexander*, who were both equally delicate and nice; and the pretended Suspicions of *Alexander*, in relation to his Fidelity, sufficiently lay open the very bottom of his Heart. *Plato*, who confined himself to his Books and his School, did not so often contend with Fortune; so that his Life was more easie, his Mind more calm and peaceable, his Conduct more just and regular, his Thoughts, in relation to his Friends, more honest, and, in relation to the Gods, more religious.

I must confess indeed, that of all the Virtues of *Plato*, there is none that I admire more, or am more affected with, than his Bashfulness and Modesty. He that knew how to speak so well, never utter'd any thing as his own: 'Twas by the Mouth of his Master that he express'd himself: 'Twas *Socrates* that spoke all that *Plato* knew, and the Master that obtain'd the Character and Reputation of a Man of Learning, which was due to the Scholar; or rather the Scholar, that gave his Master the Honour and Credit of all that he said, and all that he knew. Never was there any Scholar that paid so much Acknowledgment to his Master, as *Plato* did to *Socrates*. *Aristotle* was the very Reverse, and

acted the direct contrary to all this: He advanced his own Maxims, and publish'd his Doctrine establish'd upon his own Foundations, without so much as making the least mention of *Plato*, who had been his Master.

As to the Qualities of Mind, they were both equally extraordinary, they had both a *Genius* that was elevated and advanced, and proper for great things. 'Tis true, that *Plato* had the brightest and most refined Parts, but *Aristotle* had a Soul more enlarged: *Plato* had a lively, quick, and copious Fancy, fertile in Inventions, Idea's, Expressions and Figures, giving a thousand different Turns, and a thousand new and distinct Colours to every thing; but, after all, it was very often properly no more than a meer Fancy. *Aristotle* is hard and dry in all he says: but however, what he says is solid substantial Reason, though his Language be rough. His Style, pure as it is, has, I know not what, something in it stiff and rigid; and his Obscurities, whether natural or affected, perplex and weary out most of his Readers. *Plato* is very delicate and nice in all that he thinks, and in all that he says: *Aristotle* is far from this Exactness, though he have more of Nature in his Style: which is plain and well connected, but somewhat rugged and knotty: *Plato*'s is lofty and sublime, but somewhat loose and diffus'd. This always says more than need, dwelling generally too long upon a Subject, that never says enough, but gives us only some general Hints, and leaves to find out by dint of Thought what he had pass'd over in Silence. The one surprizes and dazles us with a blazing Character; the other enlightens and instructs us by a just and solid Method: And as the Reasonings of the one are more home
and

and to the purpose, being plain and unartificial; so the Reasonings of the other are more ingenious, intricate, and confus'd. *Plato* infills Wit by the Fertility of his own, and *Aristotle* infuses Reason and Judgment by the Impression of good Sense, which appears in all he has said. In short, *Plato's* Design is, for the most part, only to speak well; *Aristotle's* to reason well, to dive to the bottom of things, to search out and fix upon some first Principles, and from these to draw infallible Conclusions; whilst *Plato*, allowing himself a greater Liberty, adorns his Discourse, and pleases more; but out of too great an Ambition of moving the Passions, he is often hurried away by his own Eloquence. He expressed every thing he said by a Figure, which perhaps, gave *Longinus* Occasion to blame the immoderate Use he makes of Metaphors, out of too great an Affectation of the Sublime, in which he appears to have gone beyond the due Bounds: His *Exordiums* of *Timaus*, of *Phædon*, of *Critias*, and of *Parmenides*, have all the Loftiness and Grandeur of this Style, but are not answerable to the Character of a Philosopher, and of a Man that makes it his Profession to instruct the World.

Longin.
cap. 29. de
Gen. sub.

Plato suavius ad legendum, quam potentius ad persuadendum scribit: contra Aristoteles plus roboris habet quam suavitatis.
Carp. in
Alceon.

In omnibus
que dis-
cenda
Oratori
eminuit
Plato. Fab.
l. 1. c. 12.

Aristotle has a Command over himself, and keeps within Limits: He calls things simply by their proper Names; so that, never wandering from his Path, never soaring too high, he avoids those Errors into which *Plato* fell; who leads all those that follow him too close, into a false Road, by his too pleasant Method of Instruction.

But though *Plato* has excell'd in all the Parts of Eloquence, tho' he was a most perfect Orator in *Longinus* his Opinion, which is confirm'd to Us by *Hermogenes* in his *Idea's*, tho' the Eloquence

quence of this Philosopher exceed that of all Orators : and tho' *Aristotle* cannot be said to be upon any Account eloquent ; yet we shall find that he commonly, upon any Subject to be discours'd of, adds the Body, the nervous and most substantial part, whilst the other gives only the outward Form, beautified and adorn'd with Variety of Colours. 'Tis in this Sense that we are to take the Opinion of *Quintilian*, when he says, that the *Platonists*, who are the principal Scholars of *Socrates*, have the best Method of making a compleat Orator. But, to finish this Parallel, *Cicero* pretends that *Plato* was too perversely bent to, and too obstinately affected with the Study of Geometry, Musick, and Astronomy : He did indeed endeavour too much to refine upon that Knowledge of Numbers, which he had taken from the *Pythagoreans*, by which he has involved himself in frequent and repeated Mysteries, in the most common Reasonings of Philosophy. *Aristotle* has confin'd himself to the Objects of Sense alone, on these he lays the common Foundation of his Knowledge, without raising himself above his Subject, by the Subtleties and intricate Refinements of *Plato*, with which that Philosopher, so much given up to abstracted Notions, had worn himself out. After all, the Difference and Distinction between these two Philosophers will more remarkably appear from an Account of their Method, which is the Second Part I have propos'd in this Comparison.

*Oratorem
futurum
optimè So-
cratici præ-
parant.
Fab. l. 10.
c. 11.
Plato Geo-
metria,
Musica,
Astris &
Numeris se
contrivit.
Cic. l. 1.
de fin.*

The

THE Methods of PLATO and ARISTOTLE.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

The Method of Plato.

PLATO observes no certain Method in explaining his Doctrine; his *Genius* is so free, and his *Stile* so mixt and compounded, that he seems not to follow any Rule. But after all, if we read him with Attention, we cannot but meet with some Marks and Tokens of a Method proper and peculiar to him alone; because of the great Liberty he takes, and of that Variety and Diversity of Methods, if we may so call it, which he allows himself in all his Compositions.

The First, and most known of all these Methods, is that of *Dialogue*, which he borrow'd from *Socrates*, and some other Philosophers of his time. *Diogenes Laertius* says, that all that was Writ in those Times, was Writ after this manner. *Stilpon*, *Euclide*, *Glaucon*, *Simon the Athenian*, and *Xenophon*, all writ so. *Alexamenes*, of whom *Aristotle* speaks, was the first Author of this Way: *Socrates* us'd it as the

Laert. in
Plat. A-
then. l. 2.

Arist. in
Poet.

the most Natural for Instruction, and most proper to clear up the Difficulties which were generally met with in the particular Circumstances of any Material Business under Examination; because in the Series, Order and Coherency of a continued Discourse, many things escap'd those that were to be inform'd; which, in the Intervals of Dialogue, there was Leisure and Opportunity to make a more exact Enquiry into *Plato*, who deriv'd all his Learning from *Socrates*, found this Method of Teaching the most Conformable to his Genius, which was Sublime and Elevated; but Free, and most agreeable to an Unlimited, Rambling, Incoherent Discourse; in which one is not oblig'd to be ty'd down to one Design, nor bound up to one and the same Subject. The Spirit of *Plato* cou'd not be kept within Bounds, nor subjected to any Rules; all is loose and disjointed; even where he was most Exact. There is so much Variety in his Dialogues, that *Picus Mirandula* assures us, that his own De Van. Scholars cou'd not determine precisely, on Doct. Gen. what one particular Subject he ever Treated: l. 1. c. 4. As for Instance, in his Books of *Law*, he talks of the Nature of the Soul, of its Generation, and Immortality; in his *Phadon*, and in his *Timaus*, he explains its Eternity; in his Dialogue of *Menon*, which is a Discourse upon *Virtue*, he intermixes a large Treatise of *Geometry*, where he shews, how *Virtue* may be taught by its Principles, as *Geometry* is. In his first *Alcibiades*, which is a Discourse about the Nature of Man, he makes a great Digression upon Musick: And thus, in all the Subjects he Treats of, he follows more his own *Genius*, than the Matter in hand. This may be his chief Character; not but that upon

due Reflection, that we may perceive, that these Wandrings, these Digressions are not properly Deviations: For we shall find, if we consider them truly, that they comport well, and have a very good Agreement with the Principal Subject; and that he seems, in all outward Appearance, to have no Design, tho' he's always carrying One on in secret. But we must confess, that he might have gone in a more direct Line; and that by making such an uneven and irregular Tour, by moving in such crooked and indirect Paths, he fetches a larger Compass, and takes a wider Course than is requisite, in order to arrive at its propos'd End.

Diogenes is of opinion, that *Plato* made choice of this Manner of Writing, out of a Design to Examine better into Things; by the Expositions he made, and by Questions and Answers. 'Tis upon this Account, that he says, in his *Cratylus*, that a compleat Logician is he that knows well how to Oppose and Answer; at which *Plato* was excellent, for he was a very great Logician in the Judgment of *Aristotle* himself. But there are two Difficulties to be clear'd about *Plato's* Dialogues: The first is, Whether they contain the Pure and Untainted Doctrine of *Socrates*, as *Plato* himself seems to pretend: The second is, Whether the Conferences which this Philosopher holds with the Persons he introduces in his Dialogues, were true and real.

As to the First Difficulty, there is very great probability, that all that *Plato* says in his Dialogues, came not Pure and Uncompounded from his Master; but that he has intermix'd his own Thoughts with those of *Socrates*, to Authorize his own Doctrine, and give more Weight

Weight to what he himself advances, and greater Credit to what he had learn'd in his Voyages into *Egypt* and *Italy*, which probably were not altogether unprofitable. *Laertius* is of the same Opinion, and says in plain Terms, that *Plato has wrote things which Socrates never said*. There are five Persons whom *Plato* introduces in his Dialogues, to declare and explain his Thoughts: *Socrates*, *Timæus*, *Parmenides*, the other two, one an *Athenian*, and the other of *Eleates*, are Anonymous. He brings in *Gorgias*, *Thrasymachus*, *Calicles*, *Polus*, and *Protagoras*, *Euthymedes* and others, only to propose what he does not approve of, and wou'd refute: And takes particular care to make every one speak according to his proper Character.

As to the second Difficulty, *Athenæus* answers it in his eleventh Book, where *Timon* finds fault with *Plato*, for having brought into his Dialogues things that never were. In short, 'tis said, that *Gorgias* having heard that Dialogue recited which bears his Name, declar'd it to be Supposititious, and that he had never said a Word of what *Plato* made him speak. *Phædon* protested the like upon the same occasion; and 'tis impossible that *Parmenides* cou'd ever have had that Discourse with *Socrates* which *Plato* attributes to him, because they liv'd not both at the same time. *Socrates* himself having heard the Dialogue of *Lysis* repeated to him, says of *Plato* in *Laertius*, *This young Man makes me very self-conceited*. And *Xenophon* in *Aulugella* assures us, that *Socrates* understood neither Physicks nor Mathematicks, *de cali naturâ aliisq; disciplinis Socrati attribuerunt: quod cum scribit Platō in cujus libris Socrates de Physica, Musica & Geometria differt. Aul. l. 14. c. 4.*

*Puto fore
ut cum le-
geris mi-
rere id nos
locutos,
quod nun-
quam locu-
ti sumus :
sed nosti
morem Dia-
logorum.
Quæst.
Acad. I. I.*

and that the Discourse, which is here carried on under his Name, upon these Sciences, is Fictitious. But the Manner and Character of Dialogue, allows of this Liberty ; as *Cicero*, who has taken it in Imitation of *Plato*, has declar'd to *Varro*. *Athenaus*, upon this account, condemns *Plato* for the Injustice he has done *Homer*, in finding fault with him for those Fictions he has mix'd in his Poems, when he himself has great variety of them in his own Dialogues, which are upon Subjects of Philosophy, where nothing but the Truth shou'd be discuss'd, and that too with the nicest Scrutiny, and in the plainest Terms.

The Second Method of *Plato*, which is that of Definition and Division ; which he took from *Socrates*, is as an Instrument to the First, but of a more general Use. These are those two most common and ordinary Means he makes use of to establish any thing he has advanc'd. In short, we cannot give others a true *Idea*, nor have our selves a perfect Knowledge of any one thing but by discovering its Nature, which is done by Definition, and the most certain way to arrive to this, is Division. *Laertius*, who ascribes to *Plato*, Induction as a third Method, which he particularly made use of to overthrow whatever he had a Mind to confute ; explains it at large in his Third Book, together with that Irony, which *Socrates* brought in every thing that he said, especially when he had to deal with the Sophists. But I shall pass over these things, to come to an Examination of what is more particular, and more close in the Manner of *Plato*.

And this is what I properly call his third Method, which consists in explaining Humane things by Divine, Sensibles by Intellectuals,
Parti-

Particulars by Universals, Images by Idea's, Qui à sensibilibus tollebant scientiam, quod in perpetuo essent fluxu. *Aristotle* assures us, that *Plato* borrow'd this manner of Explanation from *Cratyles*, who had been *Heraclitus* his Scholar, and from *Heraclitus* himself, as *Averroes* affirms: And *Marcilius Ficinus* proposes this Method in his Epistles, where he says, That *Plato*, in the seventh Book of his Commonwealth, declares, that Philosophy consists in nothing else but in raising a Man from what is Corruptible and Perishing, to what is Immutable and Eternal. There is some probability, that *Socrates*, who taught *Plato* this Method, had learn'd it himself from that *Indian*, whom *Eusebius* speaks of; who being at *Athens*, had particular Conferences with *Socrates*. For this *Indian* having demanded of him, what it was in his Opinion to be a Philosopher: He answer'd him, that to know how to live well, was to be a Philosopher. The Stranger, says *Eusebius*, was not satisfied with this Answer; telling him, that he was in a gross Error; and that to have a perfect Knowledge of things Natural, 'twas necessary to begin with things Divine, which so pleas'd *Socrates*, that he often afterwards us'd to say, That there was no better way of coming to the Knowledge of Good in particular, than by the Knowledge of Good in general. This is very agreeable with that Maxim, the *Greeks*, according to *Aristoxenes* his Opinion, receiv'd from the *Indians*, that the universal Good ought to be most considerable: And this Maxim, is very reconcileable with what *St. Austin* calls the way of Wisdom; which leads Men to the Knowledge of things in their first Principles, and in their Originals by Idea's. That Father took this Method from *Plato*, who had very much applied himself to it: And when we

Ex Interp. ex Arab. A. l. 3. de an.

Euf. l. 3. de præp. Evan. c. 1.

Principalis est bonum Universi. Ex Euseb. in præp. Evan. ibid. Via sapientie. Aug. lib. 7. de Trinit.

have observ'd it throughly and search'd nicely into it, without stopping at our first Scrutiny, without delaying at the very Entrance, as is too often done; we shall find it generally explains things only by the Agreement they have with, and the Relation they bear to their Originals; Particulars by Universals, things Apparent and Visible by things which do not appear and are Invisible: And 'tis particularly upon the account of this Method, that St. *Augustin* ought to pass for a *Platonist*, as may be seen in his Manner of explaining *Grace*. I give this as an Instance, because he of all the Fathers has best explain'd it, and is from thence call'd *the Divine of Grace*.

Grace is a Gift, says he, Sovereignly perfect in the Quality of a Gift. There are three things to be consider'd in a Gift. He that gives, he to whom 'tis given, and the Manner in which 'tis given. He that gives, ought to give of his own, for that is to give in Sovereign Perfection; and he must likewise have it in his Power, and be in a Capacity to give all that he does give: He therefore ought to be Sovereignly Good to give Willingly, and Sovereignly Powerful to give Liberally, and Sovereignly Independent to give without any hopes of a Return: otherwise 'tis Trafficking, and not giving. He to whom 'tis given, ought to Merit nothing of him that gives, for 'twould be only Justice if he deserv'd it: And he ought to be in extream necessity, otherwise he might decline and refuse the Gift. Lastly, for the Manner in which 'tis given, it ought to be done freely, for what is given upon Force and Compulsion, is not given but wrested from the Doner: And the Gift ought to prevent the Merit of the Receiver, least it seem a Recompence;

pence; and to preceed all Desire, Expectation, and Request, because by such Application and Address it may be merited. All these Qualities meet and unite in *Grace*; and above all, in that first and most important of all Graces, which is the Redemption of Man, they all concur and agree to make it a Gift Sovereignly perfect. Such is the Treatise of Grace in St. *Augustin*; and all that he says in several other Parts of his Works may be reduc'd to these Principles. In which he has imitated *Plato*, who always us'd himself to explain things by their Idea's, resolving them into the State and Condition in which they ought to be, and not into that in which they are, as he himself says in his Dialogue of the Sophist. After this manner he gives us the Idea of Health in his *Eutypbron*, the Idea of Law in his *Minos*, the Idea of a perfect City in his *Laws*: And in his Books of *Commonwealth*, he proposes the Idea of universal Justice in a City, before that in a Citizen.

Thus in the very same Books he draws a Model, and shews the Ground and Platform of a perfect Government, which well comprehended, is impracticable but to Men in Idea; concerning which *Cicero* drolls upon him so agreeable, when he says; *That Cato's Advice, in Deliberations upon publick Affairs, was sometimes prejudicial to the State, for he judg'd of the Government of the Roman Commonwealth, which was entirely corrupted, with the same Severity, as if he had been to give his Opinion in Plato's Commonwealth.*

Cato nocet interdum Reipub. dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτειᾳ, non tanquam in Romuli sententia. Epist. ad Att. l. 2. Ep. 1.

This Method of Idea's, is that which *Plato* most commonly makes use of, as being the most direct way, in his Judgment, to the true Knowledge of things; because it reduces them to

A Comparison of

their Principle : That which has made the Doctrine of Idea's so famous, and so much divided the Opinions of Wise Men about *Plato's* Conception of them, is whether these Idea's are Eternal Substances, existing out of the Mind of God, as *Ammonius* the Scholar of *Proclus* believ'd, who wou'd have these Idea's, according to the Doctrine of *Plato*, to be Models entirely distinct and separate from God, upon which he Forms the Ground of his Work. *Albertus Magnus*, *St. Thomas*, and *Trapezuntius* are of the same Opinion. But *Plutarch*, *Alcinous*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyry*, *Proclus*, *Jamblicus*, *St. Augustin*, *Themistius*, *Simplicius*, *Plethon*, and *Marcilius Ficinus* are of a quite different Judgment ; they all, with one consent, maintain that *Plato* did not himself believe that these Idea's were Forms existing by themselves, and distinct from the Knowledge of God, as *Ammonius* and some others have represented him. For those separate Idea's are so absurd, that there is not the least probability that such Thoughts shou'd have ever enter'd into the Mind of a Philosopher, so great a Master of Reason as *Plato* was. So that in his Doctrine, the Idea of the World is nothing else but the Image the Creator has Form'd.

But if all this be so, *Aristotle* then is much to blame, to run out with so much heat against the Idea's of *Plato*, when he himself was of the very same Opinion, as appears in his Books of *Metaphysics* and in several other places of his Works ; to this I Answer, that *Aristotle* had very good Reason to oppose the Conceptions of *Plato* on these Idea's, for tho' the Opinion of that Philosopher is not defective in the Substance, yet is it in the Manner ; because he places in God two Degrees entirely distinct ;

distinct; the one of first Mind and Understanding, the other of first Principle of all Beings in quality of a Creator. He pretends, that this first Mind or Understanding, where all Idea's are form'd, is the Original from whence the Creator takes his Designs; and that, this Principle being it self distinct from the Creator, the Idea's likewise are distinct. Thus did *Aristotle* upon very good grounds oppose this Doctrine; he, who acknowledg'd, in the Essence of God, a Simplicity so pure, cou'd not suffer those compound and different Idea's of *Plato*, which distinguish'd the Mind or Understanding of God, from God Himself. 'Twas this Distinction *Aristotle* levell'd at, in engaging against the Idea's, as Forms exterior to that first Being, which admits of no mixture in its Nature. This is the Opinion of *Aristotle*, contrary to the Idea's of *Plato*: though *Simplicius* believes, that he differ'd not from *Plato* on this Question, but on the Manner of Expressing it: But 'tis not likely, that a Man of such solid Judgment as *Aristotle*, shou'd delight to fight with Words, or break forth into such Heats against particular Expressions. 'Twas necessary in this place, thus far, to clear the Doctrine of *Plato*'s Idea's, which occasion'd so famous a Difference between him and *Aristotle*, but to return to my Subject.

We may find in *Plato* a Fourth Method more Dark and Abstruse than the former Three, which consists in explaining the Truth of things by their Figures. This *Plato* practis'd to gain Esteem, and bring his Doctrine into greater Veneration, by rendring it more Mysterious under the Veils, with which he cover'd it. The chief Interpreters of *Plato*, have added to their Master's Opinion in this Point. *Marcilius Ficinus*

Ο δὲ δημιουργὸς
τῶν ὄντων
Πλωτ. 1. 3.
Ενν. 5.

Proclus, Jamblicus, Porphyrius in Plat. l. de Rep. Quæ scripsit Plato de anima & de ejus circuitu aliter intelligi debent quam verba sonant. Fic. in Plat. Theol. l. 7. c. 4.

Ficinus says, That Plato, in treating upon Subjects of Importance, always has something Allegorical; and moreover affirms, that that Figure of the Soul which he explains by Numbers, in his *Timæus*, is a Mystery yet unknown to his Commentators; and that, in his *Epinomis*, there is a Riddle, not to this Day unfolded. The Birth of Love, in the *Banquet*; the War between the *Athenians* and the People of the *Atlantick Ocean*, which he mentions in his *Critias*; the Chariot of the Soul, its Wings, its Horses, and the Coachman he has given it, in the *Phædra*; the Fable of the Generation of Animals, by *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*, in the *Protagoras*, are all pure Allegories, if we'll believe *Origen*, *Porphyry*, and *Proclus*; and *Ficinus* makes the very same Observations on the *Parmenides*.

Socrates practis'd this Method, in imitation of *Pythagoras*, particularly to confound the Arrogance of the Sophists, by concealing under these Figures what he truly and certainly knew: Whilst the Sophists with much pride affected to Discourse upon, and set forth things they knew nothing of. *Plato* too, learn'd this Symbolical Philosophy from the *Ægyptians*, who being much given up to Superstition, explain'd themselves, even in Matters of Religion, by Figures; which in things Sacred, seem'd to them a more Grave, Serious, and Respectful way of treating upon Divine Subjects. Their Priests, in whose Hands were the Mysteries of their Religion, authoriz'd this Method to support their Credit, and secure to themselves Veneration, by the Respect that was due to those Holy Things, which they hid from the Eyes of the People, lest by being known, they shou'd become profane. They were

were of Opinion too, as *Jamblicus* has observ'd, in one of his Treatises, where he explains their Mysteries, that they were oblig'd to this way of proceeding, in Imitation of Nature, which under the exterior Veil of the Body, conceals the Perfections of the Mind.

However it were, this Manner of Explanation was so firmly establish'd in *Ægypt*, that it is very probable, that the *Ægyptians*, being driven out of their Country by *Cambyses* by Conquest, and being afterwards dispers'd throughout all *India*, introduc'd there likewise this Method of writing by *Hieroglyphicks*, which is still in Use in some parts of that Country; and as far even as *China*, there is some agreement with that way of writing, which was formerly observ'd by the *Ægyptians*. For they explain'd, as I have said before, their Thoughts by the Figures of Birds, Animals, and other sensible things, which they ador'd as Deities: upon which account the *Greeks* gave those Figures the Name of *Hieroglyphicks*. But I do not pretend to assert, that that Symbolical way of writing most commonly us'd by *Plato*, is universally practis'd by him in all his Works: For he speaks some things very plain and easie, and which may be understood by all the World: though there are some things which cannot ^{Ἀπὸ} be understood by any Body, they being al- ^{καλύπτει.} together Allegorical: And *Proclus*, his most ex- ^{Procl.} act and faithful Interpreter, declares, that in many Places he has wrote very unintelligibly. 'Twas the Custom in *Socrates* School to write all things Figuratively, as appears by that famous Table of *Cebes*, who was one of the most Celebrated of *Socrates* his Scholars. For this Table, which has been so much esteem'd by all Posterity, is only a plain Representation of
Humane

Humane Life, under those various Figures, of which it is compos'd. This is the most particular and distinct Account I can give of the Method of *Plato*; let us now proceed to that of *Aristotle*.

CHAP. II.

Of the Method of Aristotle.

TIS not much to be wonder'd at, that *Plato's* Method was so Various and Uncertain; for since his first Maxim was, To be assur'd of Nothing, but to Doubt of All Things; he had no need of any Principles, that had nothing to Establish. *Aristotle* and *Xenocrates* were *Plato's* first Scholars; but *Aristotle* forsook this manner of Doubting, and endeavour'd to clear up things, by searching them to the Bottom; so that he form'd to himself a Method more unperplex'd, and more certain too, than that of *Plato's*; because he laid down such and such Principles. The First of these Principles is, that there is a Science, contrary to the Opinion of *Plato*, who believ'd there was none, because he thought that there was nothing certain in Nature: He held, that the Soul of Man was obscur'd, by entering into the Body, as a Light is extinguish'd, by being plac'd in dirt, or clay: That the Knowledge which the Soul has of all things, by the Nobleness of its Divine and Immortal Extraction, is entirely lost by its Commerce

In Platonis libris nihil affirmatur, quæritur de omnibus, nihil certi dicitur. Cic. Acad. quest. 1. 1. Utrique Platonis ubertati pleni, certam disciplinæ formulam composuerant: Illam autem Socraticam de omnibus nulla affirmatione adhibita, consuetudine differendi reliqueunt. Acad. Quest.

with

with Matter ; and that upon this very Account, the Knowledge it obtains, by the Use and Experience of Things, is not a True and Perfect Knowledge, but a bare Remembrance of several Transactions in the Common and Ordinary Course of Nature, as *Plotinus* explains it. *Aristotle* was of a quite contrary Opinion : He believ'd, that the Soul did not drive from it self any Principle of Knowledge, when it was united to the Body ; but that it Acquir'd it entirely by the Assistance of the Senses, which are so many establish'd Messengers, to bring Intelligence of what passes without ; and that from this particular Knowledge, which was convey'd to it by the Ministry of the Senses, it formed of it self, by the Operation of its Understanding, a Knowledge universal, certain and evident, which is *Science* properly so called.

Thus the First Method of *Aristotle* is directly opposite to that of *Plato*. For *Plato* pretends, that to arrive at the Knowledge of Things, we are to begin at Universals, and so descend to Particulars : And *Aristotle* will have it, that the Knowledge of Things Particular and Sensible, carries us to the Knowledge of Things Universal and Immaterial ; being persuaded from this Principle, which he holds for an infallible Truth, *That nothing can enter into the Soul, but by the Senses* : For Man, being made and fashion'd as he is, cannot judge of things Sensible with any Certainty, but by the Senses. The Maxim of *Plato* is, that Things may be known by *Idea's*, which are as the First Originals ; and that of *Aristotle*, that Things may be discover'd by their Effects, which are the Expressions and Copies of those *Idea's*.

Aristoteles ad sensibilia traxit, quæ Pythagorici de numeris & substantiis intelligibilibus dixerunt.
Bessar.

Card. in Cæsum, l. 2. cap. 4.

Nihil est in intellectu, quod non fuerit prius in

sensu. Ex. Aver. text. in Arist. l. 1. post Analit. 13.

The

The Order which *Plato* observes, is that of Nature it self, proceeding from the Cause to the Effects : That of *Aristotle*, is the Order of the Knowledge of the Soul, which finds not out the Cause, but by the Effect. This is *Aristotle's* First Method, which he took from *Archytas* the Scholar of *Pythagoras*, and which *Archytas* had learnt of *Dexippus*. This *Dexippus*, in the Order of the Categories, of which he made the first Draught, borrow'd the Substance from the Head of other Categories, as the most Material and most Sensible. But because this Knowledge of Things Universal, form'd from the Knowledge of Things Particular, has a Principle which is subject to Error and Mistake, *Aristotle* has found out a Way to rectifie this Principle, and make it Infallible, by means of his Universal Organ.

This is the Second Method of *Aristotle*, and 'tis in this Organ that he establishes the Art of *Demonstration*, by that of *Syllogism* : For *Demonstration* is his most common and ordinary Method, as *Ammonius* assures us ; and *Aristotle* himself calls the Art of *Syllogism* his Principal Method : His *Logick* serves only to establish his Method ; all that he says, has a Relation to it. The Book of *Categories* treats of Parts very distant and remote, which ought to enter into the Composition of a *Syllogism*, and which are Terms, in their Natural Signification. The Book of *Interpretation* treats of the Matter near to *Syllogism* ; that is, of Terms, as far as they are capable of Binding, to serve for *Proposition*, which is the Second Operation of the Mind. The Book of *Analyticks* considers a *Syllogism* according to the Essential Parts that compose it ; that is, its

*Ammon. in
vita Arist.
Μέθοδον
εὐρεῖν ἀφ'
ἧς ἀνδύνη-
σόμεθα
συλλογί-
σασθαι
περὶ παν-
τός,
Top. cap.
ult.*

Mat-

Matter, and Form: And how the Matter of a Syllogism may be Necessary, or Contingent, or Fallacious, is explain'd according to those Differences in the sequel of those Books. The Book of *Topicks* serves to clear and unravel the Matter, when 'tis only probable, or contingent. The Book of *Sophisms* explains what is False, and what is Equivocal: And the Book of the *Posterior Analyticks*, sets forth that which is Certain and Necessary. This is an exact Account of *Aristotle's* Method, the most perfect, and the most compleat of all Methods. For in effect, Demonstration made in the Principles, and in that Manner this Philosopher has conceiv'd it, is the only infallible Rule to guide and direct us, in our Attainment of the Sciences; and the only Way the Mind of Man has to arrive at that Certainty which he searches for in the Knowledge of Things; and the only Instrument proper to Rectifie our Reason, by the discerning of Truth from Falshood. 'Tis that that has so recommended the Use of this Method to all those that have Studied the Sciences, and gain'd the Universal Approbation of all Ages, that have had the Knowledge of it. 'Tis this that has render'd this Method so Advantagious and Beneficial to our Religion, being more peculiarly adapted and accommodated than all others, for the Confirmation and Establishment of its Doctrine; which made St. *Jerom* say, *That all the Artifice and Perverseness in Human Reasoning, and all the Force and Power that Profane Science can gain in the World, may be defeated and overthrown by Aristotle's Method.*

*Quicquid in sacu-
lo per-
versorum
est dogma-
tum, quic-
quid ad
terrenam
sapientiam
pertinet, &
putatur esse
robustum,
hoc diale-
cticâ arte
subverte-
tur. Com.
in Eze-
chiel.*

But one of the most common Methods *Aristotle* makes use of in his Demonstrations, is, as *Averroes* observes, to Resolve all the Difficulties

culties that he meets with, before he has establish'd his Proposition: And this Admirable Art of his, in Confirming with Solid and Substantial Arguments, when he advances, makes him despise that Method of *Division*, which he judges too weak and feeble to carry him to a Demonstration. For this Reason he calls it *A Defective and Imperfect Syllogism*, tho' 'twas very much us'd by *Plato*. Not but that *Aristotle* does often use the *Analysis* in all those Matters, where he is oblig'd to descend to a particular Account of Things, in order to examine them to the Bottom, and from thence to gather a more distinct Knowledge. The Esteem he had for this Method, appears from his often Quoting his *Analyticks* in his other Books.

'Tis by this Discussion, that he searches deep into the things he treats of, and discovers that which is most Essential; whilst others see only the Outside, and sit down contented with the bare Superficies. 'Tis true indeed, that those Maxims which *Aristotle* establishes, in Subjects he has examin'd, are so profound, that they appear not certain, but to those that know how to penetrate into them: This makes the greatest part of his Definitions seem either too obscure, or not only just and adequate: The Mind yields not its Assent to them without some Resistance, being at first Sight not thoroughly convinc'd. But the more we meditate upon them the more Indubitable they appear, because they are always founded upon Nature and Experience. And this made one of his Interpreters, tho' understood him best, say, that *The Doctrine of Aristotle had, for its common Foundation, the General Opinion of all People, and Good Sense.*

Alexand.
Aphrod.

Yet it must be granted, That *Aristotle*, tho' a Person of the deepest Penetration, often by this Profundity of Judgment, deprives himself of the Liberty of Explaining his Notions with that Perspicuity which is requisite and necessary for a Philosopher that is to Instruct others. 'Tis a Fault he is most commonly charg'd with; *Themisthius* carries the Accusation higher, when he says, That 'tis downright Folly and Madness, to pretend to find out the True Sense of *Aristotle*, in all he says; which however is false, unless in Relation to those things, which he himself has hardly determin'd. *Simplicius* believes, that *Aristotle* us'd this Obscurity to veil his Conceptions, instead of those Tables and Symbols, which he approv'd not of in *Plato*; because a Philosopher that endeavours to Instruct us in the Truth, shou'd discover it by sensible Effects: And because Truth it self cannot be disguised under the Colour and Shadow of Tables, without being subject to Illusion, by the Equivocal Explications that may be given it: And lastly, because Truth, to appear in all its Purity, ought to manifest it self by the most convincing Evidence imaginable. These are the Reasons he gives in his *Metaphysicks*, why he condemns that Symbolical Philosophy of *Plato*. When *Aristotle* therefore expresses himself not with that usual Clearness, this proceeds not from the Qualifications of his Mind, which was naturally deep and profound, but from a pure Affectation to be Obscure and Mysterious, that he might not be understood without Explanation; which he himself has sufficiently declar'd by that Title he has given one of his Books, which he calls the *Acromaticks*, be-

L. 3. Me-
taphys. c. 4.

cause it must be listened to with great Attention, to be well understood.

But I find, in this Manner of Explaining Himself, one Excellency, which I cannot enough admire : For besides all other Perfections, which he shows himself Master of, he is the most Modest, and the least Positive and Assuming of all Philosophers. He scarce ever Asserts any thing he Advances, he barely says, it appears so to him, and seems not to affirm what he thinks, without some Hesitation. When *Aphrodiseus* or *Averroes* speak of his Doctrine, they represent it not as of it self Evident and Uncontestable ; and its Author, as never speaking confidently, but wisely, doubting, and with an admirable Reserve ; as if he were always under some Difficulties, to decide Right, which is the genuine Effect of a profound Knowledge ; for to be forward and presumptuous in Asserting Things, discovers great Weakness. His *It may Be's*, which he so often inserts, in all he says, appear to me so curious and exquisite ; and I find them so proper, and becoming the Character of a profound and Learned Man, who being far from venting Airy Notions, has Modesty enough to distrust his own Lights ; that I set a greater Value upon *Aristotle's* Reservedness and Moderation, than upon his Profoundness and Knowledge ; for this is the Virtue of an Exalted Soul. Great *Genius's* deliberate and hesitate, whilst Little ones are quick and nimble in giving their Decisions ; because they have not Light enough to doubt. But *Aristotle* is not of that eager and hasty Temper ; he fairly acknowledges in his Book of *Generation*, that he should be scarce able to clear those Difficulties he had propos'd. He tells us ingenuously

Plato and Aristotle.

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nuously in his *Meteors*, that the Causes he has assign'd for the Rise and Progress of Comets, are not to him satisfactory ; and in other Matters, which he has taken under Examination, he gives us his Resolutions, only as so many Doubts. This seems to me to be an unparalell'd Candour, a frank and open Sincerity, without Example, and which I cannot sufficiently admire. Thus having given you an Insight into the Method of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, it remains, that we examine their Doctrine, to carry on the Comparison ; and this is the Third Part.

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The

The Doctrine of PLATO and ARISTOTLE.

PART III.

THE Doctrine of *Plato* and *Aristotle* is so extensive and so profound, that one would think that God had sent these Two Philosophers into the World, to be Examples and Patterns of Wisdom to the Wise, and to give Instructions to the whole Earth. In short, they were both of them ignorant in but a few things; and their very Thoughts may fairly be acknowledg'd as the Rules of all Arts, and the Principles of all Sciences. But because Philosophy alone is incapable of making Men Wise, by the certain Knowledge it gives of Things; and because that alone applies it self to the Perfecting of the Mind, whilst other Sciences are taken up in Exercising the Manners, and in Refining the Imagination: Therefore in examining their Doctrine, I shall only consider it with Relation to Philosophy, and in Reference to the several Parts of that Noble System. 'Tis this that frees the Mind from Errors by *Logic*, and the Heart from Passions by *Morality*; to dispose Men by this Preparation, to the Knowledge of Things Natural by *Physicks*, and to the Contemplation of Things Supernatural by

Meta-

Nihil tantus vir ignorare posuit. Macrobius in Arist. Finis humani intellectus, Aristoteles. Hieronymus ad Jovin. l. i.

Metaphysicks. These are the four Parts of which Philosophy is compos'd; and, according to the Order of these Parts, I shall examine the Philosophy of *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

C H A P. I.

The Logick of Plato.

PLATO has writ nothing which bears the Name of Dialect or Logick, as this Part of Philosophy was afterwards call'd; because *Socrates* did lightly esteem it. 'Tis true indeed, *Plotinus* has writ a Book of the Dialect of *Plato*, but has laid down no natural Train of Precepts to establish that Art: And *Apuleius* undertaking to treat of the Philosophy of *Plato*, mentions only his Ethicks and Physicks; what he says of Logick is taken out of the Book of the Interpretation which *Aristotle* writ. But after all, if we make a diligent Search after the Logick of *Plato*, we shall find he had some; the End and Design of which was to deliver the Mind from Error and Opinion, and to introduce a Science; which Science was nothing else but that Remembrance of things he advises his Followers to in his *Philebus*, in his *Menon*, in his Books of *Commonwealth*, and in several other Places of his Dialogues.

So that the first, nay, the chief and principal Work, about which *Plato's* Logick is employ'd, is, to purifie the Mind, and dispose it to a perfect Knowledge of Things by their Idea's: As for Instance, it leads the Mind to the Knowledge of Good, by the true Idea of

*Falsa est
Ars disse-
rendi quam
minimè
probat
Socrates.*

Cic. Acad.

1.

*Alcino. c. 5.
de Doct.
Plat.*

*Plat. 1. 6.
c. 7. de
Rep. in So-
phist. &
aliis locis.*

A Comparison of

Good ; to the Knowledge of Beauty, by the Idea of Beauty : For the sole Idea's of Things are capable of giving that certain Knowledge which composes a Science, because they are immoveable and eternal, when all things else are subject to change. The Senses themselves, by which is convey'd to us all the Knowledge we can pretend to, are treacherous and deceitful. This is the End and Scope of *Plato's* Dialect ; and the most ordinary Means he has proposed to himself to arrive at this End, are *Division*, *Definition*, *Induction*, and *Supposition*.

By *Division*, of which he treats very largely in his *Politicks* ; he makes up the true *Analysis* of *Genus* in its several *Species*, and discovers by this first Method, the essential Difference of every thing ; this is the most certain and infallible way of coming to a *Definition*, as *Alcinous* observes : And a *Definition* admits us to the Knowledge of the very Essence. This made *Plato* say in his *Cratylus*, that the Logician was only capable of giving Names to Things, because he alone understood their Natures. By *Induction* he sets up Singulars against Universals, and gives us a View of the Contrarieties of Particulars from General Oppositions. By *Supposition*, which is his last Means, he discovers, as 'twere, by Degrees, the Perfections and Imperfections of every Thing ; and, by Example, the Beauty of the Mind, by that of the Body ; and the Excellency of our Duty, by that of our Mind. *Alcinous* explains this Doctrine more at large, in his Treatise of the Doctrine of *Plato*. *Plotinus* tells us the Method this Philosopher took to make good his Sophisms, which was by the Explication and Distinction of Propositions, as *Socrates* had taught

Alcin.

c. 5 & 6.

Plotin. l. 3.

En. 5. c. 5.

taught him; though *Socrates*, according to *Aristotle's* Opinion, was more ingenious at creating Difficulties by his Questions, than at solving them by his Answers. This is, in short, the whole Art of *Plato's* Dialect, as may be easily gather'd from his Dialogues of *Cratylus*, *Parmenides*, and *Protagoras*, and from those of the *Sophist* of *Euthymedes*, and of the *Politicks*, and is to be found in several other Places, without Order or Connexion.

'Tis not in the least to be doubted, but that *Plato* had some Knowledge of the three Operations of the Mind: He has distinguish'd them in his *Sophist*; nor is it to be at all question'd but that he knew the *Categories* too, having seen the Work of that *Archytas*, who was *Pythagoras* his Scholar, and the first that writ of them. But whatever *Alcinous* may say, he never knew the Form of a Syllogism, nor the Distinction of the three Figures of Argumentation: *Aristotle* was the Author of them, as all Wise Men are agreed. Let us therefore proceed to his Logick.

C H A P. II.

The Logick of Aristotle.

THE Logick of *Aristotle* is, without all doubt, more distinct, and more methodical than that of *Plato*; and though *Aristotle* made use of the Logick of *Zenon* of *Ælea*, who had writ three Books of that Art long before him; though he had receiv'd great Assistance from the Dialect of *Euclide*, of *Megara*, *Socra-*

* περί δὲ τῆς
συλλογισ-
τικῆς πρὸς τὴν
ἀλήθειαν ἐξου-
σίαν ἀποδείκνυται
ἐν τῇ ἐλέγχῃ.
c. ult.
† In Diale-
cticis nihil
penitus, ut
ipse testā-
tur Aristo-
teles, ab
antiquis
scriptum,
aut dictum
erat. Tra-
pez. in
Comparat.
Plat. &
Arist. l. 1.

tes his Scholar, yet it is most certain, that he better understood the Matter of this Art, search'd farther into the Depth of it, set all its Parts in a clearer Light, and rang'd them in a more agreeable Order than any of the Philosophers that had writ before. It may be said indeed, that * *Archytas*, *Zenon*, *Euclide*, and *Plato*, invented the Matter of Dialect; but *Aristotle* alone gave it a Form: And to his Honour be it spoken, that he alone perfected the Syllogism, which the others knew nothing of before him. 'Twas he, † in effect, that invented the Art of a perfect Demonstration, by confining the extensive, and almost infinite Capacity of the Soul of Man within the Limits of three Operations, as within fix'd and stated Bounds, beyond which that Divine Particle of Air, free and independent as it is, can never pass. 'Twas he likewise that discover'd the Secret of rectifying their Operations, and of composing a determinate Matter for a Syllogism.

'Twas he, in fine, that reduc'd into three Figures which he had invented, all the imaginable Connexions of two Terms, which compose the Proposition with the common Term, to establish the Form of a Demonstration, a Form always directly concluding by one Rule, which carries with it as certain Characters of Infallibility, as the Demonstrations of the most exact Geometry. 'Tis in the Fourth Chapter of the First Book of the *Analyticks*, that he explains this new Art of the Construction of Syllogism; and 'tis by this wonderful Art that this Philosopher found out a Way to give the same Rule to Thought, which is entirely spiritual, as he had prescrib'd to Quantity, which is entirely material; and to establish in the

Reasonings,

Reasonings, and in the Operations of a Human Soul, which are essentially free and contingent, an Infallibility equal to that which we meet with in Geometrical Demonstrations, which are essentially necessary. This to me appears so worthy of Admiration, that I find nothing comparable to it in all the most surprizing Productions of the Mind; for that can be conceiv'd more ingenious than this Invention of the three Figures of a Syllogism, which form themselves from the different Situation of two Terms, with the common Term of which it is composed? And what can be imagin'd more admirable than the Certainty and Evidence of the Conclusion after the two Premises, when there is nothing vicious neither in the Matter, nor in the Form.

Truly when I reflect upon the Universal Arrangement of *Aristotle's Logick*, and that wonderful Order of all the constituent Parts thereof: When I consider the great Caution this Philosopher has taken in the general Preparation of the Matter he designs for Argument; that is, when I observe the whole Work fix'd and establish'd in the most firm and solid manner the Mind of Man can form; and upon a Foundation the most uncertain that can be imagin'd, which is Thoughts and Words; I am surpriz'd at the Greatness of his *Genius* that cou'd conceive so prodigious a Design. What cou'd not he have done, that cou'd fix the Character of Solidity and Consistency upon a thing so weak and infirm? This Work is encompass'd with Difficulties, which appear'd insuperable; it removes the Ambiguity of Words, by giving a clear Explication of what was equivocal and what not, and affixing to the Terms their proper and natural Sense. This is a Work very

ry necessary to dispel the Confusion of Thoughts, which so darken the Mind with the Multiplicity of *Idea's*, to unravel those inextricable Foldings of the Operations of the Mind, and to disperse that almost inevitable Crowd and Tumult of divers *Species* of Particular, Universal, Conditional, Absolute, Complex, Incomplete, Affirmative, Negative, Modal, Equivalent and Contradictory Propositions; to the End that the Mind may be accustomed to a naked and simple Representation, that it may form to it self Objects, whereby to judge of Things according as they are really in themselves. In short, it so discovers the Disguisings and Artifices of the Understanding, which are innumerable, as to remedy all the Defaults, and all the Illusions of Argumentation, and to bring to light all the Fallacies and Imposture of all the Sophisms, of all the Paralogisms imaginable.

Nor is this all; for this Great Man, after having fully discover'd what lay most obscure and most retir'd within the Mind, and, by the Art he had invented, confin'd the Infinity of Thought within the Compass of three Operations; he found out a Way to rectifie these three Operations in all the Parts of his Logick: He has corrected the Faults of the first in his Book of *Categories*, in which he teaches us how to distinguish the *Idea's* of every Thing according to that natural Order which the Understanding ought to observe in the Conception of them: He has reform'd the Defaults of the second Operation, which is the Proposition in this Book of the *Interpretation*, and in his Treatise of *Postpredicaments* and *Antipredicaments*; where he explains the Signification of Terms, and the Contingent or Essential

Con-

Connexion of the one with the other. Lastly, he redresses what is defective in the Third Operation, in his Books of *Topicks*, *Analyticks*, and *Sophisms*; and in these he establishes the Construction of Three Syllogisms, the *Sophistick*, which causes Error, the *Dialectick*, which creates Opinion, and the *Demonstrative*, which is the only perfect Syllogism, both as to the Quality of its Matter and its Form, and which alone produces Science. Thus all the whole Design and Drift of *Aristotle's* Logick tends to one and the same End, *viz.* the Establishment of Demonstration by Syllogism, which is the Universal Principle of all Sciences. For nothing can be assuredly known without this Art, for by Demonstration, we have not only a perfect Certainty, that the Thing is, but likewise a perfect Knowledge of the Reason why it is, which is the most Essential Product of all Science.

So that the Logick of all other Philosophers both Ancient and Modern, are good no otherwise than as they bear a Relation to that of *Aristotle's*; and whoever examines them, will find, that they are defective in those very things in which they agree not with the Logick of this Philosopher; which ought to be the Rule and Standard of all other Logicks, being founded on the Art of Demonstration. But it is certain, that *Aristotle* is the true Author of this Art? I must confess, that to prepare the Matter, he was oblig'd to the *Categories* of *Archytas* and *Ocellas*; that he learn'd from *Democrates* and *Socrates*, the Use of *Definition*, as a means to arrive at this Art; that he borrow'd from the *Cratylus* of *Plato*, the *Definition* of Terms in their proper Signification; that he took from the Dialogue of *Euthydemes*, Part of the
 Obser

Demon-
strandi
viam ratio-
nemq; cer-
tissimam
quis un-
quam ante
Aristote-
lem expli-
cavit?
Trape-
zunt. l. 1.
de Comp.
Plat. &
Arist.
Aristoteles
Dialectica
artis uni-
versa &
inventæ &
perfectæ au-
thorem se
pradicavit.
Ram. c. 7.
l. 1. Schol.
Dialect.
Ammon.
in Arist.
vita Phi-
lop. c. 22.
in Analyt.
Alex. Aph.
Simpl.
Averroes.
Theod.
Logot.

Observations he has made in his Book of *Sophisms*; that the first Knowledge of the Method of Consequences, and of all that captions Art of *Dilemma's* was deriv'd down to him from *Zenon Eleatis*; that *Timæus* of *Locris* gave him the first *Idea* of a *Syllogism*, which was afterwards brought to Perfection by *Zeno*, as appears in the Commentary of *Proclus*, on the *Parmenides* of *Plato*: And that, lastly, he met with the first Appearances of Demonstration in the self-evident Propositions of *Timæus* and *Theetætes*. But after all, 'tis not in the least to be question'd but that *Aristotle* was the first Author of the Form of *Syllogism*, and of the Method of perfectly rectifying the Matter by discovering the Confusion of Thoughts, the Equivocation of Words, the Artifice and Disguise of Propositions, of which they form'd the *Sophisms*. All the principal Interpreters of *Aristotle*, are of this Opinion. *Aristotle* himself owns it in the End of his Books of *Dialect*; and *Cicero* acknowledges as much in the Book of his *Troicks*.

The Difference then between the *Logick* of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, is, That *Plato's* is dispers'd through all his Works without any Order or Design, without Principles, and almost without Method, and *Aristotle's* reduc'd into a regular Form in his Books of *Dialect*, where it is firmly establish'd in all its Parts: And *Gassendus* had not perhaps found it so imperfect by that Supplement of *Porphyry*, which he look'd upon as a necessary Introduction, had he but consider'd that this very Treatise which is prefix'd to *Aristotle's* *Logick*, is taken from *Aristotle's* *Metaphysics*, from whence *Porphyry* extracted it: And 'tis very probable, that this Supplement had been altogether needless, had there been nothing

thing lost of the Books of *Aristotle's Logick*, of which *Diogenes Laertius* makes mention. Proceed we now to their Morals.

C H A P. III.

The Morals of Plato.

TIS this Part of Philosophy that teaches Men to live well, as Logick teaches them to think well: *Socrates* was the first Author of Morality, tho' *Æsop* had long before his time given us some Lessons that were very Entertaining, and well receiv'd by all People, upon the Account of those pleasant Fables, by which, with a wonderful Art, he has made them so agreeable, that they are still in very great Request. But there is nothing so settled or establish'd in the Morals of *Æsop*, as in those of *Plato*, who has made Morality an Art, and founded it upon certain Principles, of which we shall here give you an Abstract taken from several Parts of his Dialogues of *Phædon*, in which he treats of the Soul; of *Philebus*, where he treats of Pleasure; of the *Banquet*, where he describes Love; of *Phædra*, where he discourses concerning Good; of *Menon*, which is in Praise of Virtue; of *Laches*, where he treats of Temperance; of the First *Hippias*, where he talks of Honesty; of the Second, where he speaks of Lying; and from what he says of Man, in his First and Second *Alcibiades*; and above all, from his Books of *Commonwealth*, where he settles the principal Maxims of Morality, according to the Opinion of *Marcel. Ficinus*. 'Tis

Socrates
mibi videtur, quod
constat inter omnes,
primus à rebus occultis & ab ipsâ naturâ involutis
avocavisse Philosophiam, ut de virtutibus & vitiis quæreretur.
Cic. Tusc.
l. 1.

in these Books particularly, that he establishes the End of Humane Actions by the first Principle of this Morality. For Man cannot act in Conformity to the Light of Reason, without proposing some End to his Actions, which ought to be the Motive and Principle to influence them. The End of Man (says he) in every Action is his Good, and the ultimate End of all his Actions is his Sovereign Good, no other Good being able perfectly to satisfy the Infinite Capacity of his Desires. The only Sovereign Good (says *Plato*) is the Sovereign Being, because that comprehends all other Good, and may be possess'd and enjoy'd by the Understanding; and the Will of Man being, beyond all Dispute, Sovereignly Intelligible, and Sovereignly Aimable. Virtue, in his Opinion, is the only Way that leads to the Possession of this Good, by subduing the Motions of the Appetite, which is directly contrary to it. 'Tis Virtue (says he) that Compleats and Perfects the Man by guiding and directing him in his Duty towards God by Religion, and towards his Fellow-Creatures by Society and Friendship. He distinguishes the different Species of Friendship, and reckons Love in the Number, he explains the Effects of pure and undefil'd, and of corrupt and debauch'd Love; the Love of a Husband towards his Wife, the Love of a Father towards his Children, the Love of a Citizen towards a Citizen and a Stranger; and in short, that general Friendship which is the Bond of all Society; of which he gives us a perfect *Idea* in his Books of *Commonwealth*.

He observes likewise in the same Place, several Marks and Tokens of that Principle of Honour, which is the true practical Virtue of

Civil

Civil Morality; and shows the Young *Alci-
biades*, how that a Man of Honour does not
enough in barely appearing so, but he must
avoid likewise being transported or elevated
with a Conceit of his own Excellencies. Tho'
he had the Glory of making the most admirable
Verses, and were a Poet equal to *Homer*, yet he
declares, he wou'd not be like him in his ridi-
culous Quality, of vainly imagining himself
considerable upon any trifling Account. And
in his *Gorgias* he protests, that he shou'd not
think it so valuable a thing to become Master of
all *Greece* by his Eloquence, as *Demosthenes* was
by his; since he found that in that little Em-
pire, the Orator had acquir'd such an Air of
Usurpation, which he cou'd by no means approve
of, being so very nice and delicate himself in
his own Morals; and most certain it is, that
there was never any System of Morality more
exact than his, or more proper to form a Man
of true Honour.

In the Abridgment of his *Laws*, he considers
whether a Man may be Sovereignly Happy,
which is the End of all his Morality; and af-
ter a strict Examination, he concludes, contra-
ry to the Opinion of some Philosophers in his
Time, that in Effect he may; otherwise the
most natural and sincere of all his Desires wou'd
prove false and unprofitable; but he acknow-
ledges at the same time, that he cannot be per-
fectly happy in this Life, whilst the Body and
Soul, whose Interests are so different and
counter to one another, are thus intimately
united. He cannot be happy therefore till af-
ter Death, when all Men shall have their re-
ward proportionable to their good or ill Con-
duct here. In his Dialogue of *Gorgias*, he
speaks of a Judge, who shall pronounce Sen-
tence

tence after this Life upon every Man according to his Deserts. In the Tenth Book of his Republick, he treats very largely of the Rewards and Punishments of Souls after Death. In the *Phaedon* he tells us, that this Life is only a preparatory State, an Introduction to another more perfect; and that Philosophy teaches a Man how to die well, by teaching him how to govern his Passions. This is in short the whole Scope and Design, and this is a true and impartial Detail of *Plato's* Morals, as may be collected from his Works, where they are scatter'd up and down without any Order or Connexion.

CHAP. IV.

The Morals of Aristotle.

THE Morals of *Aristotle* are more plain and natural, and simple, and more agreeable to the Truth, and yet appear with less Splendor than those of *Plato*; though at the same time they are more solid, and more admir'd and follow'd, of which we shall endeavour to make an Abridgment. In the Ten Books which *Aristotle* has writ to his Son *Nicomachus*, he makes it his Business to find out what is the ultimate End of Man, in which his true Happiness should wholly consist; and having concluded that there is one grand Wheel that sets all the lesser in Motion, one great End to the attaining of which all our Actions are influenc'd and directed; he declares, that it is neither the Pleasure of Sense nor Riches, nor any other Goods of the Body, nor Honours,

nor Virtue it self, because all these Goods bear a Relation to another Good ; and *true Beatitude* (says he) *is a Good universally desir'd by all the World, which we desire for it self, and for which we desire all other Goods.* This is the Definition he gives of it ; and as this Good cannot be acquir'd but by Virtue, he explains what Virtue is. *'Tis a Habit of doing well, consisting in a Medium between the two extreams of Vice.* He shews us what this *Medium* is, in the Instances of *Fortitude, Justice, Prudence and Temperance*, which are the Principle Virtues in the System of Morality. As for Example ; the *Medium* that makes the Virtue of Temperance, regulates our Pain and Pleasure, and reduces them both to a just Temperament, and this is Virtue. As we betray our Weakness in our too much fear and dread of Pain, so likewise our Softness in our excessive Love of Pleasure ; now Temperance moderates these two Extreams, and becomes a Virtue by tempering the one with the other. This being establish'd, he examines into the Nature of the Action that leads Men on to Virtue, which is a free Operation of the Will, determining it self to the Choice it makes of Good ; and this gives him an occasion to describe at length what the Will is by the Circumstances of Action, free or constrain'd, voluntary or involuntary ; which is one of the finest Treatises in all *Aristotle's* Morality, because it explains whatever relates to the Liberty, and to the whole Oeconomy of Humane Actions. From thence, he passes on to *Fortitude and Temperance*, and sets forth the Nature and Effects of these two Virtues, and treating on *Temperance*, he sets down all those Virtues that are its dependents, and have Riches and Honours for their Objects. He tells us, that the Virtue which

D d

relates

relates to the use of great Riches, is *Magnificence*; and that which relates to the use of a lesser Share; is *Liberality*; that the Virtue which relates to common Honours, is the *Desire of Glory*; and that which relates to uncommon Honours, is *Magnanimity*. And as *Temperance* superintends, directs and governs all those Virtues that regard Society, he gives us a View of them all in their Order: The First, which is conversant about removing the Obstacles of Commerce in a Civil Life, by taking off that Roughness, and sweetning that Sourness of Temper, which is so often met with in too great a part of Mankind, is a Mildness and Meekness of Nature, Courtesie and Humanity; the other Virtues dependent on *Temperance*, which contribute to the rendring Society secure and agreeable, are Candour or Sincerity, which govern our Thoughts; Affability, which governs our Words; and Civility, which governs our Actions.

Having thus establish'd, in the first Part of his Morals, the Essence of Private Virtue; in the second, he establishes that of Civil Virtue. He begins with *Justice*, the Nature of which he explains, and distinguishes its *Species*: He concludes his Discourse with an Explication of that natural Right, which is common to Man with Beasts; and of the Right of Nations, which is common to Man only; and these he makes the principal Foundations of *Justice*. From thence, he descends to the Virtues of the Understanding; and from them, he passes on to those of the Will: Amongst the Virtues of the Understanding, he reckons Prudence as the most considerable, because that alone begets right Reason; without which, there can be no Virtue. The Use of Prudence in a Civil Life

is *Policy*, as in a *Private Oeconomy*; and the general Object of this Virtue, is what ought and what ought not to be done in the Circumstances of Affairs, as they present themselves to us.

He descends even to an Explication of the Dispositions to, and the Hinderances of Virtue, which are Imperfect Habits: He says, that Effeminacy and Impatience are the Hinderances of Virtue, as Patience and Moderation are the Dispositions to it; and adds, that Pain and Pleasure are the common Matter of these Habits: which furnishes out an ample Subject for our Author's System of Morality. For he reduces all to *Pleasure* and *Pain*, which are the ordinary Springs of the Motions of the Soul, and the most universal Principles of the Passions. He concludes this Part which relates to Society, and which *Cicero* has so well explain'd in his Book *de Officiis*, with an admirable Treatise upon Friendship, in which he describes its Nature, shews the Differences, and the Use, and Benefit of it, under the various Circumstances of Good and Ill Fortune; and its Necessity in the most common Action of Man, *viz.* his Conversation: He observes the Conduct that shou'd be us'd in Friendship, to improve and cultivate it; and proposes several Questions upon this Subject of Friendship, which he himself resolves. In fine, he concludes his Morals with Beatitude, which is both the Beginning and the End of them; and describes the Nature of True Pleasure, to give us an *Idea* of Happiness. And tho' he acknowledges, that Virtue is the only Means to acquire it, yet he allows, Prosperity and Riches may contribute some Assistance: And having shewn, that Sovereign Felicity consists in Action; he infers from thence, that

there is a Practical Beatitude, which is that of Men ; and a purely Contemplative one, which is that of the Gods.

In his Two Books of his *Great Morals*, he treats of Ways and Means to acquire Virtue, by Goods, which he looks upon as the Instruments of Happiness : He distinguishes them into Three Sorts of Goods ; those of the Body, those of Fortune, and those of the Mind : After this, he takes into Consideration the Habits of the Soul, the Principles of its Operations ; and repeating what he had said before in his Ten Books, he draws several Characters of Probity, Adversity, and Prosperity.

Lastly, in his Seven Books to *Eudemes* his Friend, and formerly his Scholar, he proposes to him Three Sorts of Life ; a Life of Business, a Life of Pleasure, and a Life of Repose and Meditation : He prefers a Life of Business to the other Two, and describes the necessary Virtues for such an Active Life, with an *Encomium* on Virtue in general ; which in *Plato's* Style he calls, *The Harmony of the Soul*, by *the Government of the Passions*. Here likewise he says something of the contrary Vices, which *St. Thomas* has explain'd more at large in the Second Part of his Works. And to finish this Moral Theology, in his Books of *Commonwealth*, and in those of *Policy*, he treats of Societies and Governments, of Corporations, Cities, Estates and Republicks ; of Laws, Deliberations and Resolves ; of Authority, of Peace, and of War, and of Seditions, of Customs, of Taxes, of Commerce, and of Arts ; of the several Duties of the Husband, the Wife, and the Father ; of Children, of Servants, and of Citizens ; without omitting any thing that relates either to a Civil, or a Private Life.

Thus

Thus the *Morals* of *Aristotle* differ very little from those of *Plato*, as to their Principles; for they both prescribe the same End to Man, and the same Means to arrive at that End, which is Virtue: They both alike distinguish the Virtues, and define them in general the same Way; the only difference between them is, that the Morality of *Aristotle* is a little too Humane, and too much confin'd with the Bounds of this Life; for he hardly proposes any kind of Happiness to Man, but that of a Civil Life: Whereas the Morality of *Plato* is more Noble and Exalted; 'tis a Preparative to a Life more pure and perfect: And in his First *Alcibiades*, he wou'd persuade us that this Life is a Resemblance of the Life of God; and in this he infinitely surpasses *Aristotle*, as well as in the *Universal Idea* he forms of this Beatitude, and of all its Circumstances.

*Idem sens
utrique, ea-
dem rerum
expetenda-
rum fugi-
endarumq;
partitio.
Cic.
Quæst.
Acad.*

*Plato Ari-
stotele di-
vinior in
moralibus.
Carp. in
Alcin.*

But after all, whatever *Plato* has said of the Beauty of Virtue, and the Deformity of Vice; and of the Rewards and Punishments of Good and Evil Actions, is more like an Orator, than a Philosopher: He supposes things, without proving them; and endeavours to delight and please the Mind, without taking care to convince it: Whereas *Aristotle* advances nothing but what he has firmly establish'd; before he determines what is the Ultimate End of all Humane Actions, he proves that there is One: He endeavours to find out in what it principally consists, and declines delivering his own Opinion, before he has confuted the Opinions of others. After this manner he clears all Doubts, and establishes his Truths with much Order, Clearness, and Penetration; which fills all his Subject, and unravels all his Matter: And generally

rally speaking, this Philosopher, in these admirable Pieces of *Morality*, lets fall such Sparks of Light, and gives us such bright, and refulgent Instances of good and solid Sense, as cannot but surprize even Men of the greatest Learning.

Lib. 3. c. 7.
Ethic.

As for Instance, in the *Idea* he gives us of a Magnanimous Person, he distinguishes the Man of True Courage, from the Man of False. The first never exposes himself to great Dangers, but upon great Accounts, viz. for his own Glory, for his Country, for his Prince, or his Friend; nor does he thus expose himself, but with a great deal of Prudence and Conduct. On the contrary, the Man of False Courage throws himself rashly and inconsiderately upon whatever has but the Appearance of Danger, with great Precipitation, and on the most slight Occasions; and is to be look'd upon rather as a meer Bully, than a Man of true Courage. In another place, he says, that Modesty, which may be commendable in a Young Man, is a Fault in an Old one; because there can be no reasonable Excuse for it, but Ignorance, which is a very bad one for a Man in Years: And tho' Modesty may serve as a Restraint upon Impudence, which is a Vice, yet for all that, it is it self no Virtue. In his

Lib. 4.
c. ult.

Cap. 8. l. 4.

Fourth Book, he tells us, that Anger, which may be a Virtue in a Soldier, is a Vice in a Captain: The one acts with his Head, and the other with his Hands; and Anger is an Assistant to the one, and an Hindrance to the other: nor ought this Passion to be ever seen in a Commander, unless it be to make his Authority the more tremendous. He adds in the same Place, that Anger is a Passion less unjust than Incontinence; because Anger always follows some Appearance of Reason, but Incontinence

is entirely ignorant of it. He says, that the Anger of a Wise Man, is worse than that of a Fool; as the Rage and Fury of a Beast, is less dangerous than that of Man; because that of a Beast is without Principle, Method or Design.

He proposes, towards the end of the Second Book, an admirable Rule, how we ought to Judge of those things, which sometimes become very dangerous, by being too pleasant and agreeable. This Rule is taken from the Example of that Council, which *Priam* conven'd in *Homer's Iliads*, to determine what they shou'd do with *Helen*, when the City of *Troy* was Besieg'd by the *Greeks*. The Council prais'd the Beauty of the Princess, without being captivated with her Charms, and order'd, that she shou'd be sent back into her own Country, without having any Violence offer'd her. Thus, says *Aristotle*, ought we to Judge of Pleasure, without forfeiting our Integrity, or suffering our selves to be corrupted: And thus ought we to avoid those dangerous Allurements of Humane Life, without being the least affected with them; for 'tis a very difficult thing for a Man not to be sensible of Pleasures, being of so frail a nature.

He says, in the beginning of the Third Book, that in Deliberations of Morality nothing is commonly so vexatious and troublesome, as justly to discern between things Profitable and Honourable, and how to follow either. As for Example, *Hyppolitus*, importun'd by the Solicitations and Caresses of his Mother, ought to be silent, and die, or else to divulge the Secret: If he divulg'd it, he acts in Dishonour of the Princess he loves; if he be silent, he acts in Dishonour of Himself, and tho' Innocent, passes for a Criminal with

Εν παντί
δὲ μάλιστα
σα φυλά-
κτεον τὸ
ἠδύ.
Ethic. c. 2.

his Father *Thereus*. *Aristotle* concludes, that there is nothing so difficult, as to know precisely which Part to take in these two nice Extreams, neither of them being Dishonourable. But nothing can be more Honourable, nor indeed more Consciencious, than what he says in the same place; that a Man ought to Suffer, and how far he ought to Suffer in the Performance of his Duty. 'Tis in this place he proposes, whether he may do an Unjust thing, to Rescue a Friend or Relation out of the hands of a Tyrant. And he regulates things after such a manner, that we may there find the True Distinction, and Natural Order of Duty reduc'd to a just Dependance one upon the other. The *Medium* he establishes between Simplicity of Manners, and Niceness of Behaviour, in his Treatise on *Prudence*, is, that Simplicity fall not into Meanness, nor Industry into Cunning and Artifice: And this he looks upon as a great Principle, from which to learn how to Live in the World. By this Distinction, he gives us the just Temperament that composes the True Goodness of Heart and Mind. He observes in the same place, that Prudence is the Rule of Men's Actions, as Art is of the Artificers. And in his Treatise of *Friendship* he has this Remark, *viz.* That Benefits and Good Turns reciprocally receiv'd from Friends, ought to be the Consequences and Effects, but never the Causes of Friendship.

But in all *Aristotle's Morals*, there is nothing appears to me as a greater Instance of the most exquisite Judgment, and of the deepest Penetration, than the Observation he makes in the Third Chapter of the Seventh Book; where he tells us, that in *Deliberations on Humane Actions*,

Actions, 'tis the Heart, and not the Mind, that deliberates, and the Decision which is made, is not taken so much from the Light of the Understanding, as from the Motions of the Will; from whence it is, that the Sensual Man, in his Reasonings, prefers Pleasure to Honesty; because his Heart is less affected with an Honest, than with an Agreeable Good; whereas the Virtuous Man concludes the contrary, viz. That an Honest Good is preferable to a Sensual Good, because 'tis more conformable to his Inclinations and his Desires. Thus every one Judges of Things, as his Affections incline him, and as the Will guides the Understanding. And from this Principle, arise all those False Reasonings of Passion and Interest; and from hence are form'd all the Sophisms of Self-Love, to which all Duties subscribe: 'Tis likewise upon this Maxim, that St. *Augustine* founds all the Conduct of Sensual and Spiritual Love, on which all the Christian Morality turns. *Aristotle* better explains the Mystery in that place of his Seventh Book, where he reduces the Principles of all Humane Actions to Pleasure, and Pain; which are the Universal Springs of the Passions. I have dwelt the longer on *Aristotle's Morals*, because I look upon them as his Master-Piece: And the disposing of those *Morals*, and reducing them to our Practice, according to the Natural Order of the subject Matter, is in my Judgment the best Design of a Book, that can be imagin'd. Let us now see their *Physicks*.

Δια τὸ
παθόν,
ὅτι τὸ
παθόν.
Ibid.

CHAP. V.

The Physicks of Plato.

There is nothing which the Mind of Man has less search'd into, than the Knowledge of Nature : It looks as if God had delighted to place the World within the Reach of Mortal Eye, as the most glorious Work of Omnipotence, and at the same time to hide from us the secret Springs of this great Machine. Nature exposes her self to our View, but her ways are unknown ; we see the Effects, but are ignorant of the Causes. After so many Disputes for so many Ages, Men are still come to no agreement, so that it seems as if the Object of Natural Philosophy were a thing rather of Opinion than Knowledge. And 'twas this without doubt that discourag'd *Socrates* ; *Plato* apply'd himself more to the Study of it, being induc'd by the Communication he had with the Writings of the *Pythagoreans*, who made a farther Progress in the Knowledge of Things Natural, than any of the Philosophers that were before them.

Though the Physicks of *Plato* are scatter'd up and down in several Places of his Dialogues of *Critias*, *Phedra*, *Parmenides*, and the Great *Hippias*, yet they are more particularly to be met with in the *Timæus*. In this Treatise that he establishes for the Principle of all Natural Beings, a Matter and a Form ; he believes this Matter to be Eternal and Uncreated, and pretends that the Form is only a pure Partici-

pation

participation, of the *Idea*. Though we may find in his Works some Footsteps, some Marks and Characters of Efficient and Final Causes, yet he reduces all to the Ideal and Material Cause, for which *Aristotle* finds Fault with him in his Second Book of Generation. He gives to this Matter a Quantity as one of its Essential Properties, and adds all those Qualities which are purely accidental, as Heat and Cold, Driness, Moistness, Lightness, Weight, Smell, Colour, Taste, and all those others which cause the difference of mixt Bodies

L. 2. c. 2.

Besides these Qualities, he admits of different Kinds of Motion, the Motion of Alteration, of Increase, of Diminution, and the Local Motion; because these things follow one another, and have a necessary Connexion. *St. Austin* says in his Advertisement to the *Gentiles*, that *Plato* has Three Principles in his Physicks, God, Matter, and *Idea*, which bear some Resemblance and Agreement to those Three Principles Cardinal *Besjarion* ascribes to him, which are, the Work that is made, the Matter of which 'tis made, and the Model by which 'tis made. *Proclus* in his Commentary on the *Parmenides*, says, That *Plato* wou'd have the Union of the Matter and the Form to be made by a certain Harmony, which is nothing else but a mutual Proportion of those two Parts. These are the Principles of *Plato's* Physicks, which this Philosopher has made the more Mysterious, by reason of his Affection for Geometry, which he has forc'd into all his Discourses, without rightly managing his Subjects or considering his Matter, and this is what *Aristotle*, if we believe *Mazzonius*, upbraids him with.

Mazzon. in
Plat. &
Arist.
Comp.

C H A P. VI.

The Physicks of Aristotle.

AS for *Aristotle*, he has Built his Principles of Natural Philosophy upon the Ruines of those of other Philosophers. *Melissus*, *Pythagoras* his Scholar, Taught, that the Unity and Immobility of one sole Being was the Principle of Natural Things. *Parmenides* was of Opinion, that 'twas Cold and Heat; *Democritus*, that 'twas Solidity and Vacuity; *Anaxagoras* admitted of Quantity, and a Confusion of Similar Principles. *Aristotle* refutes all these the better, to establish that Form and Matter he had taken from the *Pythagoreans*, to which he has added Privation as a Third Principle, for the more easie Comprehension of that Change which is made in Generation, which is a sort of Motion; the Matter, is the Subject; the Privation and the Form, are the two Terms, and the Motion has, for its Principle, the Term of Departure; which is a Privation, as well as the Form. As, for Instance, no one can raise a Pillar, if the Materials, of which it is to be fram'd, have not a Privation of the Form, which made *Aristotle* say, *That White cou'd not be produc'd but of what was not White before.*

So that the First Book of *Aristotle's* Physicks in which he lays down his Principles, is no thing else, in my Opinion, but a pure System to direct us how to comprehend the Order of the Generation of Natural Beings. The Se

cond Book, which treats of Causes, appears to me to have something in it more clear and more real than the two Firſt. The Diſtinction he makes between Art and Nature, Fortune and Chance, ſeems in my Judgment very ſolid and well conceiv'd. What he lays down in the third and following Books, is, though ſomewhat confus'd and out of the common Road, yet admirably well contriv'd. The Definition of Motion is obſcure at firſt ſight, but when thoroughly conſider'd, appears true and natural. The Treatiſe of Infinity in the Fourth Chapter of the Third Book is not in its proper Place, according to the Opinion of Gaſſendus. What he ſays of Time and Place, in the Fourth Book are noble Diſcourſes, and contain all the moſt ſolid Parts of Natural Philoſophy. In the following Books, he ſpeaks a ſecond time of Motion, and ſeems to tread in the ſame Steps as before, and, as it were, to meet himſelf.

*Natura eſt
Principium
motus &
quietis.
2 Phyſ.*

*Actus Entis
in potentiâ,
prout in
potentiâ.
Gaſſend.
in exercit.
Phyſ.*

With regard then to things, in their Principles there is no great Diſparity between the Phyſicks of Plato and Aristotle, for being both deriv'd from the ſame Original, viz. the Phyſicks of the Pythagoreans, the moſt Rational at that time Extant, they muſt needs reſemble each other. Ocellus was the firſt Author of thoſe two Principles of Natural Philoſophy, Matter and Form, in order to explain the Change that is made in the Generation of a Natural Body by ſomething it receives, and by ſomething that is receiv'd; and though the principles of Natural Philoſophy are almoſt the ſame, in the Systems of both theſe Philoſophers, as to the Composition of Bodies, their Properties and Qualities, yet their Manner of treating upon them is very different.

For

*Ocell. lib.
de Univ.
cap. 2.*

For *Plato* has writ of *Physicks* very superficially; and were we to collect, out of his Works, all he has said upon that Subject, it would make up but a very short Discourse, and not to be compar'd with *Aristotle's* Eight Books of *Physicks*, in which he has compriz'd all that relates to the Principles and Properties of a Natural Body in General.

His particular *Physicks* appear to me more ingenious and more methodical from the Deduction of all the Species of the Body Natural, into which it divides it self. He begins with the Heavens and the Stars, with the Elements and with Meteors; and in those Books of Meteors alone has explain'd more things in Natural Philosophy than all the Moderns together, for he descends to all the most minute Particulars of every thing. 'Tis here he shows us the manner of the Formation of Metals, of Bitumens and Salts, and of Stones, and of whatever else is fashion'd within the Bosom of the Earth; here likewise he explains the difference of Bodies by their exterior Figure, hard or soft, rough or smooth, stiff or flexible, brittle or malleable, friable or viscid and tenacious; and treats of the Concoction, Elixation, Colliquefaction, and Putrefaction of the same Bodies. In the same place he examines into the different Opinions that have been held concerning the Elements; whether the Fire burns by the Motion of round Particles pointed or pyramidical, according to the Philosophers of these Times, who pretend to be Authors themselves of many things that *Aristotle* taught long before them; as the Weight of the Air, which he proves by the Experience of a Bullet that weighs more when 'tis heated. And *Aristotle* is not mistaken in his Explication

of the Swiftneſs of weighty Bodies, as *Gallileo* and *Gassendus* ſay he is, who are themſelves much in the wrong, as to that Point. In ſhort, he has ſhew'd the Nature and Difference of Sounds, with a Proportion of all the Conſonancies, as diſtinctly as any of the Moderns, who pretend to have found out ſomething new on that Subject. But upon ſerious Reflexion it will appear, that all that has been ſaid by *Galileo* and *Des Cartes* upon the different Vibrations of the Air, hath been before obſerv'd by *Aristotle*.

I ſhall paſs over that excellent Treatiſe he has writ of Colours, and that of Phyſiognomy, of Muſick and Phyſick, and an infinite number of others; to ſpeak of his Hiſtory of Animals, which to me appears beyond compare. 'Tis true that in this Labour he drew great Advantages from the Liberalities of *Alexander*. But beſides the great Application and Induſtry he us'd in this ſort of Study, beſides the many Experiments he made himſelf on a great number of Animals; it was his particular Care to inform himſelf of all that had been wrote upon this Subject by the Philoſophers, Phyſicians, Hiſtorians, and Poets that were before him, as may appear from the many Quotations he makes out of *Homer*, *Hefiod*, *Æſchylus*, and *Euſipides*. He ſometimes cites *Herodotus*, but 'tis to confute him; for he found very little Certainty in any thing he maintain'd. The Perſon from whom he deriv'd the moſt Light in his Hiſtory of Animals, was *Hippocrates* that great Obſerver of the Body of Man, though he never makes the leaſt mention of him, for which *Laurentius*, in his Book of Anatomy, accuses him of Ingratitude, and with Reaſon. For what this Philoſopher ſays of the Conſtruction
of

of Human Bodies, is taken partly from *Hippocrates*, not but that he has several things that are his own Observations.

However 'tis to this Philosopher that we owe the Order and Method observ'd in a Matter so extensive, so copious and intricate as this History of Animals: nor is it a small Task to have reduc'd all the Species to certain Kinds, to have compriz'd them in a natural, just, and compleat Division, which he gives us at the beginning of the History; and to have establish'd General Maxims in the Constitution of Animals, which passes for Infallible. 'Twas he that first believ'd that the Heart was the Fountain of Blood, which was rejected as an Error, but has been since found to be true by Experience. The Circulation of the Blood was not unknown to him; for *Harvey*, the first of the Moderns that has writ of it, quotes a Passage of *Aristotle*, to shew that he was not ignorant of it. I must confess, that length of Time has contributed to the perfecting of this Knowledge, and that Experience has added several things to what *Aristotle* wrote. But what Depth of Thought, what Vastness of Soul was there requir'd for the establishing the Principles, and disposing things into that Order, in which he has ranged them; for the finding out by Mechanical Demonstration the Equilibrious Motion in the Flight of Birds, in the Swimming of Fish, and in the several Places of Animals, which can neither be direct nor straight, without a just Counterpoise of all the Parts of the Body? He has reduc'd to the Rules of Mechanism, of which he was the first that wrote, and that long before *Archimedes*, most admirable things in the Motion of Natural Bodies, in the equal Weights of Liquors, and likewise in things

things artificial, as in the Guidance of Ships, and of all other great Machines. He first discover'd by these Mechanical Experiments, that the Motion of every Animal is a Mixture of Agitation and Repose, succeeding each other in those Parts where the Motion is made, which were impossible without this Alternation. I shou'd never come to an End, were I to give you a particular Account of this whole System of Natural Philosophy; let us therefore now conclude, that we may examine the *Metaphysicks* of these two Philosophers.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Metaphysicks of Plato.

NOTwithstanding Plato had learn'd Metaphysicks from *Hermogenes*, *Parmenides* his Scholar, yet he had so lofty and elevated a Soul, and so strong an Inclination to the Study of Supernatural Things, that all his other Philosophy seems to incline towards Metaphysicks. For where he mixes, in his Dialogues, any Considerations, either Moral, Natural, or Politick, 'tis as they relate to what he says concerning the Knowledge of Intellectual Things. The principal Object of Metaphysicks is a Being in general, and the Properties of that Being. Let us now see what were *Plato's* Thoughts upon this Subject. He acknowledges, in his *Parmenides*, an Eternal Being, which never was begotten; and he finds in that Being a Goodness, which he calls, *The Good by it self*; the first Understanding, and the first Life. Αὐτὸ ἀγα-
θόν.

clus distinguishes in *Plato*, these three Principles as three different Beings ; and *Plotinus* distinguishes them not at all, but assures us that they are the same : 'Tis this that gave Occasion to some of the Primitive Christians, that were Followers of *Plato*, to believe that this Philosopher had some Knowledge, tho' not clear and perfect, of the ineffable Mystery of the ever Sacred Trinity. But this Distinction is purely Natural, and bears no Proportion with that great Mystery, by Reason of the Inequality and Dependence *Plato* puts between those three Principles.

He gives two Properties to this Being, which he believes are essential to it, *viz.* Power and Activity, and adds to them Unity and Infinity. And in the Dialogue of the Sophist, he reckons up Five Attributes belonging to this Being, Essence, Motion, Rest, Identity and Diversity, which make up the Universal Distinction of all Beings. On these three Principles he establishes three Sorts of Gods ; the first purely Intelligible, the second Intellectual and Intelligible, and the third purely Intellectual. It would require a larger Treatise to examine into so profound a Speculation.

He establishes in his Tenth Book of Laws two Sorts of Intelligences, the one Good, and the other Evil ; and one might imagine, by the Opposition he places between these two Spirits, and the manner of placing it, that he had some imperfect Knowledge of the first War of the Angels. And we may find in several Places of his Dialogues such Marks and Characters of our Mysteries, that we may see that it was not without some Foundation, that the first Fathers of the Church believ'd, that this Philosopher had been acquainted with the

Books

Plato and Aristotle.

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Books of *Moses*; and that so particular an Account of the Things of another Life, which he gives us in his *Gorgias*, in his *Protagoras*, and in his *Politicks*, made one of the Commentators of *Alcinous* say, That *Aristotle* must yield to *Plato* in *Metaphysics*.

Carpent.
in Alcin.

C H A P. VIII.

The Metaphysics of Aristotle.

TO say the Truth, *Aristotle* is more plain and natural in this Part of Philosophy, with which he always mixes his *Physics*: Good Sense and Reason are his principal Guides, and 'tis seldom he raises himself above the Knowledge of Things Natural. He never would engage in Things he could not demonstrate, which made him so cautious and circumspect, as Cardinal *Bessarion* observes of him, when he speaks of Things supernatural. Therefore having first confuted the Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers about the Principles, he examines whether there be one; he proves there is, because the Chain of Causes and Effects, it being impossible that it shou'd be extended on *in Infinitum*, must be bounded by a first Mover. This Principle being establish'd, he shews, that there is a Science which considers a Being purely in Quality of a Being; and then proceeds to examine the Nature, Properties, and Oppositions, and this is the Science of the *Metaphysics*. He discovers three Attributes absolutely inseparable from a Being, Unity, Goodness and Truth, which agree essentially

Bessarion.
l. 2. c. 4.
contra Cœ-
lum.

A Comparison of

with all Being. He distinguishes a Being into Act and Power, into finite and infinite, necessary and contingent; and from these Distinctions makes different Orders of specifical and particular Natures, having first given us some certain Idea's of Universal Nature. This is what he explains in his first six Books; he begins in the Seventh to raise himself to the Knowledge of a First Being, he proves that it must be a Substance; and having given an Essential Definition of Substance, he explains its Properties, Genus, Species, and Difference. In the Eighth and Ninth Book he treats of Substances, sensible and material; in the Tenth, of Unity; and in the Eleventh, he shows that Universal Natures are the first Objects of Science. Having distinguish'd the different Attributes of Substance; in the Twelfth he speaks of the first Cause, or first Mover, and concludes his Metaphysics with the Unity of the First Mover, and with that of God. In the Eighth Chapter of his first Book, he treats of the Divinities of his Religion as introduc'd by Fables; but discourses of them somewhat obscurely, as not imagining the People capable of such Mysterious Truths. In the two last Books, which I hardly believe are *Aristotle's*, because of the strange Repetitions, there is a Discourse of Immaterial Natures, of *Idea's*, of Numbers, of Mathematical Entities, and of the Generation of Numbers against the *Pythagoreans*. But these Numbers cannot be accounted for by Natural Causes, as *Pythagoras* has long since taught.

In fine, *Aristotle* seems to be much more real and fix'd in his Resolutions and Determinations than *Plato*: He builds Things upon establish'd Principles, which *Plato* does not; but

but gives himself up too much to his own Thoughts, a Fault that proceeded from the Tincture he drew from the vicious and corrupt Instructions of the *Ægyptians*. For as they were a superstitious People, that were pleas'd with their Notions and Fancies of their Priests, who were their Teachers; so this Philosopher found their Minds full of *Idea's*, which they had taken from the *Jews* after their Deliverance out of *Babylon*. In that Conjunction there arose a confus'd Medley of Opinions about Religion compounded of what the *Jews* believ'd upon the Maxims of their Law, and of what was added to such Persuasions by the *Ægyptian* Priests, Men naturally Fanciful and Visionary. With these *Plato*, coming into *Ægypt* sometime after, amply furnish'd himself; from which vast Treasury he has produc'd so many things, as cannot upon any Account be excus'd, but by the Help of real or pretended Allegories. 'Tis true, the Order in which we have the Books of *Aristotle's* *Metaphysics*, is not Natural; and 'tis the Opinion of *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Alexander*, that this Philosopher has not taken the same Care in the Arrangement of these, as of his other Works; and that he design'd his *Metaphysics* only as a generral Scheme or Model of that Science, to be propos'd to the Judgment of the Learned, and for the Improvement of Posterity. *Theophrastus* has endeavour'd to settle the Order of these Books in that small Fragment of *Metaphysics* he has left us. *Pasocrates*, a Scholar of *Aristotle's*, is of Opinion that the first Part of these *Metaphysics* is not in its proper Place. *Nicolas* of *Damascus* is the only Man that believ'd the Order of them to be Natural. *Alexander*, *Aphrodisiens*, and *Averroes* dissent from him.

ἡ ἀρίστη ὁμοιο-
της πρὸς τὰ
ἀρχαῖα.

A Comparison of

In Discuss.
Peripat.

We might draw a Comparison between these two Philosophers, in Relation to what they have writ upon other Arts and Sciences, as *Poetry, Rhetorick, Law, Politicks, and Grammar*: For these two Great Men have spoken of all Things, and have given Precepts to all Conditions of Men; even the most Mean and Sordid, and most Mechanical Arts, have not escap'd their Penetration; but of these too have *Plato* and *Aristotle* both treated, as well as of Philosophy. *Plato* shews a great Genius and a Noble Spirit in all he says, but has establish'd no Principles, and observ'd no Method, in which *Aristotle* is so exact. Never did any Author write upon so many Subjects, and search so well to the Depth of them; for there are above Seven hundred and Forty seven Volumes of his Works, if we may believe *Franciscus Patricius* the *Venetian* Philosopher; but for my part, I am content to rely on the Judgment of *Diogenes Laertius*, who reckons up near Four Hundred. This one Criticism about the Number of *Aristotle's* Works will admit of infinite Dispute; 'tis enough therefore that we may from hence discover, that more than Fifty Authors wou'd have merited Immortal Glory by the Writings of *Aristotle* alone; so great is their Number, and their Value so extraordinary. And it seems reasonable to assert, That nothing can be added to the Sciences, nothing writ with any Solidity or Exactness, or according to the Rules of Art, unless it be conformable to those Precepts he has laid down in his Books. After all this, to prefer to this Great Man, the Modern Philosophers, who have gain'd what Reputation they have in the World only by their Physicks, in which System there is to be found nothing new, but that Order which

which is observ'd in setting down the Opinions of *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, and the like; to prefer, I say, these Men to *Aristotle*, is an unpardonable piece of Impudence. But we need not be surpriz'd at some Peoples making so wrong a Judgment; for the Soul of Man is of such a Complexion, that it is less affected with the Greatness of Things than with their Novelty. In which we appear like Children, whom great Things do not move, because they cannot comprehend them, but who are delighted and entertained with little Things, with meer Trifles, because they seem new to them.

I will conclude this third Part with a Reflection or two, upon the Excellency and Advantages of the Doctrine of these two great Persons. As for the Excellency, it is observable, that not only the Logick and the Morality of *Plato* is less solid than those of *Aristotle*, as I have already declar'd, but that *Aristotle* has advanc'd both to such a Degree of Perfection, that nothing can be added to either of them. For in his Logick he has taught us the Art how to correct all the Errors of Thought, how to dissipate all the false Lights of the Mind and Understanding, and how to prevent the Natural Precipitation of the Judgment, in order to distinguish right between true and false: And thus his Logick is perfect, * which he was sensible of himself, it being the only Work he valued himself upon. In his System of Morality and Physicks, he mentions the Philosophers that assisted him; but in his Logick, he quotes none. He has likewise so distinctly explain'd all the Motions of the Heart of Man, and the End and Motives of all his Actions, that his Morals as well as his Logick, seem to reach the height of Perfection; nothing can

* *Aristoteles in Physicis & Ethicis, Physicos & Ethicos Philosophos permultos appellavit, in Logico organo neminem Logica Doctrinam citavit.* Ram: c. 7. l. 1. Schol. Dialect.

be farther added to the one or other, unless there be some Order wanting to set forth their Beauty by a more natural Distribution of the Parts. As for his Physicks, I believe they are only imperfect where the Matter is in fault, which might be better known, and better search'd into, were it less uncertain. For we may pretend what we will, we cannot dive into the Mysteries of Nature, they are so intricate; we are still ignorant of them, notwithstanding all our boasting of having discover'd her secret Springs. But of all Systems of Natural Philosophy, this of *Aristotle's* is built upon the most Reason, and establish'd upon the best Foundation. All the World perhaps, may not be of this Opinion; but 'tis particularly of this Part of Philosophy that the Wise Man speaks, when he says, *That God has given up the Knowledge of the World to the Disputes of Men.* I must confess, that Natural Philosophy is not arriv'd to its full Perfection, it may still admit of greater Degrees. The *Metaphysicks* are a Collection of Principles rather than Precepts, upon the Knowledge of Things Natural abstracted from Matter; they cannot possibly be made more Compleat, but by being reduc'd into a more distinct Order; things being dispos'd in the most perfect manner imaginable, to take away that Confusion natural to Idea's, by the Distinction of Terms and their Attributes. *St. Thomas* makes great *Encomiums* upon this Science. *Aristotle* calls it his first Philosophy, because it is as it were a Preparative to Logick, which is the Foundation of all Sciences. Without Logick we cannot think aright, and the most essential Fault of those that undertake to speak or write, is the want of this. *Aristotle*, in the Sixth Book of his *Metaphysicks*, imputes all the Errors of the Ancient Philosophers, to their Ignorance in Logick. The

*Tradidit
mundum
Disputationi
eorum.
Eccl. c. 3.*

*Πράτην φι-
λοσοφίαν.*

The Advantages to be reap'd from the Doctrine of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, are great: By reading *Plato*, we acquire that Fertility of Imagination, and that Beauty of Conception which is the Mother of Eloquence, and of all that is graceful in Learning: And the Reading of *Aristotle*, begets in us Judgment by the Justness it imprints on our Thoughts, all whose Errors it corrects. *Plato* makes Orators and Poets, of those that converse with him. That Method he observes in explaining things by their Idea's, and speaking of them not as they are, but as they ought to be, and which he borrow'd from *Homer*, is what has alone made all the great Men of his Time, and those of succeeding Ages. 'Tis after this Model, that *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Demosthenes*, *Hyperides*, *Eschines*, *Demades*, *Lysias*, *Pindar*, *Carneades*, *Cicero* and *Virgil* were form'd; for they were all *Platonists*: As it was the Method of *Aristotle* that made *Theophrastus*, *Philoxenes*, *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Galen*, *Boetius*, *Avicenna*, *Averroes*, *Alexander d' Ales*, *St. Thomas*, and all those that have writ with any Solidity upon the Grand Sciences. They therefore who seek after other Models than what are drawn by these two Authors, are much mistaken if they expect to succeed in their Study, or make any reasonable Progress in Learning, when they take so wrong a Course. It may possibly be a thing that will admit of Difficulty to undeceive the vitiated Palates of some Men, and especially of our Modern Philosophers who are of Opinion, that *Aristotle* is too much out of Date, for the refin'd Genius of the Age, and who imagine that they may grow Wise and Learned without a *Plato* or an *Aristotle*.

*Plato dabit
Oratoribus
Altitudi-
nem. Fab.
in Dialog.*

*The Opinions of the Wise Men
of all Ages upon the Doctrine
of Plato and Aristotle,
and the different Adventures
of their Sects.*

PART IV.

CHAP. I.

*The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine
of Plato, till the coming of our Saviour.*

AFTER the Death of Plato, *Spencippus* succeeded him in his School, he embrac'd his Opinions, but observ'd not his Conduct, his way of Life being not in the least conformable to his Doctrine, for he let loose the Reins to Pleasure. So that the Sect of Plato made little Progress during those eight Years *Spencippus* taught in the Academy, by reason of his unbounded Avarice; for he lost several Scholars upon the Account of those large Demands he made, and so many the more fell off from him, because his Predecessor *Plato* had treated them after a more honest and disinterested Manner.

Xenocrates

Xenocrates, after *Speucippus* his Death, succeed-
ed in the Place ; there was not the least Agree-
ment in their Method of Teaching, for he en-
deavour'd to merit the Esteem of the People
by his Honesty and Integrity. *Alexander* sent
him several Presents, which he generously re-
fus'd, thereby doing more Honour to the Do-
ctrine of *Plato*, than ever his Predecessor had
done. Being much addicted to deciding Con-
troversies, he cou'd not accommodate himself to
Socrates his Way, who too much distrusted his
own Reason, and seem'd to doubt of every
thing ; but fix'd upon *Aristotle's* of establishing
upon Principles whatever he advanc'd. *Pole-
mon* took the School after him. His Way of
Life was very irregular, himself a great De-
bauchee ; but he afterwards reform'd, upon read-
ing a Discourse of *Xenocrates* upon Temperance.

Valerius Maximus tells the Story ; St. *Austin* Val. Max.
mentions this Adventure, and *Lucian* drolls l. 6. Hist.
upon it after his usual Way. *Crates* and *Crantor*, Aug. E-
who succeeded him in *Plato's* School, chang'd pist. 130.
nothing of his Doctrine. *Arcefilas*, who suc- Luc. in Bi-
ceeded them, reform'd something, by re-esta- saccus.
blishing the Method of *Socrates*, which had been Mos Socra-
in a manner laid aside ; and by this Reformation tis cum a
he founded the second Academy. *Zeno*, who posteriori-
was afterwards the Chief of the *Stoicks*, had bus non es-
studied under *Polemon* with *Arcefilas*. *Zeno* was set reten-
a Man of great Subtilty, and profess'd himself tus, Arce-
an Enemy to the Opinions of *Plato*, which fix'd filas eum
in *Arcefilas* the more firmly upon the Doctrine of revocavit.
Socrates, and oblig'd him to veil over the true Cic. 2. de
Opinions of *Plato* with new Mysteries to make Fin.
them the more valuable. *Arcefilas*
ignorantia
Magister
cum Zeno-
ni obtra-
ctaret, au-

hore Socrate, suscepit hanc Sententiam, ut nihil sciri posse statueres. Lact.
lib. 3. cap. 6.

Philosophy was now studied at *Athens* with great Application; and from hence arose the several Sects of Philosophers, of which the *Stoicks* and the *Epicureans* were the chief. And as there are some *Genius's* naturally Free, and others naturally Slavish; every one chose his Side according to his Inclinations, and plac'd himself at the Head, or in the Train of one of these Sects, which divided the Men of the greatest Learning and Parts throughout *Greece*, and afterwards throughout the whole World. But the Opinions of *Zeno* and *Epicurus* were most in Vogue, by Reason of their Novelty. And upon this Account, the Progress of *Plato's* Sect was for some time interrupted.

Zeno.

*Senserunt
hoc Stoici,
qui servis
& mulie-
ribus Phi-
losophan-
dum esse
dicebant.
Lactant.
l. 3. Inst.
c. 23.*

Zeno was of *Cyprus*, he drew after him many Followers, by admitting all Sorts of Persons into his School, and publicly declaring, That all the World was capable of learning his Philosophy. He taught in the *Portico* of *Athens*, a Place celebrated for the Pictures of *Polygnotus*, from whence his Scholars were call'd *Stoicks*. Tho' he declar'd himself a violent Enemy to the *Academy*, yet he embrac'd many of their Opinions. He taught a Sort of *Metempsychosis* of the Soul, and a Recollection of things past, by the Mind, like that of *Plato's*. He never thought it safe to take up with Opinions, but always disapprov'd of it, that he might not leave his Wife Man in an Uncertainty. Virtue was the Sovereign Good, in his Morality; he preserv'd his Reputation by the Purity of his Manners, and the Frugality of his Life. But nothing more recommended his Philosophy and advanc'd its Progress, than that Constancy and Resolution he inspir'd into his Followers in the Extremity of Affairs; which appear'd in the Adventures of *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Patus*, and

of several others that were *Stoicks*. *Antigonus*, who succeeded *Alexander* in *Macedonia*, was so transported with Admiration of *Zeno's* Virtue, that he sent him an obliging Letter, to desire him that he might be admitted into his Sect. The *Athenians* conferr'd great Honours upon him. *Ptolomy* King of *Aegypt* sent an Ambassador, on purpose to assure him of his Royal Favour. In short, this Philosopher was in great Esteem, and much Celebrated at his first Appearance. But the Virtue which *Zeno* recommended, was so false in most of its Maxims, the Pride he assum'd of making * Men equal to God, appear'd so vain; and the Idea of his Wise Man, was such a meer *Chimera*, that at last he became Ridiculous; and † *Cicero* drolls upon him very pleasantly, in several Parts of his Works, and especially in his *Tusculan Questions*, where he relates the pleasant Account *Pompey* one Day gave him, of the Philosopher *Posidonius*. *Pompey*, as he pass'd by *Rhodes*, in his Return from the *Mithridatick* War, made him a Visit in his School. This Philosopher was then very much tormented with the Gout; but the Noble Opportunity of giving a *Roman* and a Conqueror, an Idea of the Stoical Virtue, inspir'd him to make a Discourse from his Bed, upon the Beauty and Excellency of his Morals. The Pain was so grievous to him, while he was endeavouring to speak, that he could not so artfully counterfeit his Misery, but that *Pompey* perceiv'd it; and the Pride of this Philosopher appear'd to the General still the more contemptible, the more he affected to act the Heroe, by defying his Distemper, in these Words; * 'Tis to no purpose, O Pain, that you thus afflict me, I will never confess you to be an Evil. The Opinions of *Egeſias* and *Theodorus*, who were of this Sect,

* Hoc mihi
Philosophie
promittat, ut
me Deo pa-
rem faciat.
Sen. Ep.
48.
Cic. in
Par. & pro
Muren.

* Nihil a-
gis, dolor,
nunquam
te malum
confitebor.
2 Tusc.
Plin. l. 7.
c. 30.

-and

and who taught, that a Wise Man was made only for himself, and that he ow'd no Service either to his Country or Relations, appear'd for Extravagant, that they brought the Party into much Disrepute; tho' there were several Great Persons who still stuck to it; as *Cleanthes*, *Chrysippus*, *Panetius*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Seneca*, *Epidaurus*, *Arrian*, and many others, who were a Credit to this Doctrine, and did it Great Honour. But *Plutarch* drew upon himself the Scorn and Contempt of all Honest People, by Discovering the Falsity of this Morality, in his Discourse against the *Stoicks*.

Epicurus.

*Negat jucundè
quenquam
posse vivere, nisi
idem justè
vivat. Cic.
5. de Fin.*

*Animi voluptates,
& dolores
nasci fatetur
è corporis voluptatibus
& doloribus.
Cicero,
l. I. de Fin.*

*Epicurus
Deos verbo
posuit, re
sustulit.
Cic.*

Epicurus appear'd about the same time, and recommended as much as *Zeno*, the Love of Virtue; but only for the Pleasure that resulteth from it; and in that Pleasure he included that of the Senses, as well as that of the Soul, maintaining, That a Wise Man cou'd not be Happy, unless he enjoy'd all the Pleasures of Humane Nature was capable of. But he did not express his Mind openly in relation to the Pleasures of the Senses, for fear of creating an ill Opinion of his Doctrine: And by this Management he gave Rise to several Opinions, that were afterwards entertain'd, concerning his True Conceptions, which some believ'd to be Innocent. 'Tis most certain, he was a very wise and prudent Debauchee. He never addicted himself to any Pleasure but by Art and Method; but in the whole, let what will be said of him, he had very little Religion in him. One Maxim which he had, was, not to disturb the Peace of his Mind with the Fear of the Gods. He did not indeed, as to all outward Appearance, deny that there were Gods, for fear of opposing the general Opinion of the *Athenians*, who were great Zealots in their Religion.

Religion, but in effect he did not believe that there were any. He borrow'd the Principles of his Natural Philosophy from *Democritus*, and his Moral from *Aristippus*. So that * *Lucretius* * *Confringere ut ar-*
seems to be in the wrong, when he praises *Epicurus* for having remov'd the Barriers of Nature; *ista Natura*
which was done long before him; for except *primus portarum*
the Declination of Atoms, with a Motion of *claustra*
their Gravity, to which he added the Philosophy *cupiret.*
of *Democritus*, he has discover'd nothing new *Lucret.*
in *Physicks*; though he was much inclin'd to *l. 1.*
them, as a necessary Security to a Wise Man
against Ignorance; for Ignorance is ever capa-
ble of raising Disturbances in the Mind. But
he despis'd *Logick*, and all other Sciences, as
useless, in Relation to the Doctrine to the Sweet-
ness of Life; though after all, his *Logick* is
very fine. The Common People follow'd the
Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, who refus'd none of
that Condition soever; and the Persons of Qua-
lity the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, by which they
distinguish'd themselves from those of the
meaner Sort; so that those that exceeded in Num-
ber were for *Zeno*, and those that surpass'd in
Merit for *Epicurus*.

*De Epicu-
ro, qui ca-
teras disci-
plinas fu-
git, nihil
moror. Fab.
l. 11. c. 18.*

The Emulation bred between these two Sects,
was great. The *Stoicks* cry'd down the Doctrine
of *Epicurus*, as too Sensual; and there was no-
thing ever after injuriously spoken of that Sect,
but the *Stoicks* acted a Part in it; and in re-
turn, the *Epicureans* treated the *Stoicks* with
abundance of Scorn and Contempt; and look'd
upon them as the vilest Wretches upon Earth.
This great Animosity between them, open'd
again a free Passage for the Doctrine of *Plato*,
though it was not altogether so Modish as either
those Two Sects.

*Inter Stoi-
cos & Epi-
curi se-
clam secu-
tos pugna
perpetua
est. Fab.
l. 5. c. 7.*

Hor. E-
pist. 11.
Lib. 2.

Cicero, who very well knew the Successors of *Plato*, says nothing of that *Bion*, whom *Diogenes* wou'd have to be *Arcefilas* his Successor; and who, in *Horace's* Judgment, became famous for the Sharpness of his Satyrs. However it were, *Lacydes*, *Evander* and *Hegefinus* succeeded one another at the time that the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans* were both in greatest Vogue. This *Lacydes* was chief of the new Academy with *Carneades*, who came some time after him, and embrac'd Part of his Opinions. 'Tis true, he remitted somewhat of that Rigour, to which *Arcefilas* had advanc'd the Doctrine of *Plato*; for *Arcefilas* look'd upon nothing certain, nothing true, no, not even in Nature it self. *Carneades* taught afterwards, that things sensible and material, were, as it were, the Shadows of Truth; by which he at least acknowledg'd that there were some things in themselves very probable.

Cato Censorius audito Carneade, quam primum legatos dimittendos censuit, quod eo argumentante quid veri esset haud facile discerni posset.
Plin. l. 7.
c. 30.
Æli. l. 3.
Hist. Var.
c. 17. Cic.
l. 1. de
Orat.

This Philosopher being sent with *Critolaus* and *Diogenes* on an Embassy to Rome, about the Affair of *Oropus*, under the Consulship of *P. Scipio* and *Marcellus*, did so much surprize the Senate with the Force of his Eloquence that *Cato* the Censor advis'd the House to send him away immediately; for he wou'd so dazzle their Understandings with the Lustre of his Discourses, that they wou'd not be able to distinguish Right from Wrong, Truth from Falshood; and if we may believe *Ælian*, the Senators themselves complain'd, That that Philosopher came to do them Violence, even in the Senate House, by the Force of his Reasons. *Cicero* gives a noble Character of this Great Man, when he says of him, That he inclin'd his Auditors to whatever Side he pleas'd. We may safely affirm, that there was never any Person that had a greater

Tale

Plato and Aristotle.

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Talent at persuading than *Carneades*; and his professing himself at *Rome* a *Platonist*, much increas'd his Reputation. *Clitomachus*, *Philon* and *Antiochus*, who were *Cicero's* Masters, were *Carneades* his Successors, and gave much credit to this Doctrine, and advanc'd its Fame by the great Characters they bore. For when *Scipio* and *Laelius* had begun to inspire into the *Romans* an inclination to Learning, and a desire of growing Wise, all the People of Quality went to *Athens* to Study Philosophy under those great Men that then taught there. This inclin'd *Cicero* to the Doctrine of *Plato*, which he gives such high Commendations of, in his Works; and though he did not profess himself of any Sect, yet he agreed to that incomprehensibility, which *Plato* and his Successors had establish'd, and acknowledges that nothing can be known with an infallible Certainty; and yet he was persuaded that, though we cannot be assur'd of any thing, yet we shou'd not fail of admitting a Principle of Probability, which is the chief Foundation of all those Deliberations that are made in transacting the ordinary Affairs of Life. But nothing won over *Cicero* more to the Doctrine of *Plato*, than the Advantage he found of improving his Eloquence, to which his Passions strongly inclin'd him. And it cannot be deny'd but that *Cicero* deriv'd all his Oratory which so advanc'd his Reputation, from reading of *Plato*, and from conversing with those of that Sect, who were his Masters. *Suidas* tells us, that *Harpocration*, who was of *Argos* and a great *Platonist*, taught *Julius Caesar* this Philosophy in those Conferences he had with him, and by those Volumes he wrote concerning the Opinions of *Plato*: Though *Plutarch* assures us, that that Prince rais'd to

*Nihil per-
cipi posse
dicamus.*

*Cic. Off. 2.
de Fin. 2.*

Quas.

Tuf.

*Deus noster
Plato.*

*Epist. ad
Quin. Fra.*

*Plato mihi
unus instat.*

omnium.

De Clar.

Orat.

*Platonem
authorem*

*ego rebe-
menter se-*

quor Lib. 1.

Ep. Fam.

*Plut. in
Caesar.*

the height of Ambition by generous and noble Thoughts, follow'd more the Morals of *Epicurus*; not concerning himself much with Religion, with which he was very little affected. *Brutus*, according to the Opinion of the same *Plutarch*, had once profess'd himself a Follower of *Plato*; but upon the Persuasion of *Antiochus*, *Cicero's* Master, he forsook the Doctrines of the New Academy for those of the Old: And 'twas this very same Philosopher that, some time after, one, after having been an *Academick*, as *Cicero* observes. This was the Estate and Condition of the Sect and Doctrine of *Plato* till the time of the First Emperours of *Rome*; so that this Doctrine has extended it self throughout all *Greece* and *Italy*, not only by the Merit of its Professors, as I have before observ'd, but likewise by those numerous Copies of *Plato's* Works, which multiplied extremely during this Period of time, and were got into the Hands of almost all the Men of Learning. I have said nothing here of the *Pyrrhonians* or *Scepticks*, though they were a Sect form'd intirely from the Doctrine of *Plato*, in the Time of the Reformation made by *Arcefilas* and *Carneades*, because *Plutarch* has writ a large Treatise to show the Difference between them and the *Platonists*.

C H A P. II.

The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Aristotle, till the coming of our Saviour.

THE Doctrine of *Aristotle* remain'd in almost utter Obscurity, during the time that *Plato* became so flourishing in *Greece* and *Italy*, which were then the only Countries, where Learning was in any manner of repute. *Theophrastus* that faithful Scholar of *Aristotle* succeeded him in the *Lyceum*; a Scholar most worthy of the Friendship of such a Master, whose Spirit he fully possess'd. 'Tis said that *Aristotle* cou'd not be prevail'd upon to publish his Writings out of that Respect he had for *Plato*, because he oppos'd his Opinions in many things. But there was more Policy than Virtue in this Resolution, for he well knew that the Minds of Men were then too much prepossess'd in favour of *Plato's* Doctrine. Therefore to conceal his Writings he intrusted them in *Theophrastus* his Hands, expressly forbidding him to make them Publick, which was punctually observ'd. So that *Theophrastus*, who was his Trustee, *Straton*, *Lycon*, *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, and *Heraclides* who succeeded one another in the *Lyceum*, taught *Aristotle's* Doctrine only by pure Tradition. But this Tradition not being supported by any Writings, in Progress of time became Feeble and Languid, and shew'd nothing of that Life and Vigour that

F f 2

appear'd

Athen.
l. 8.

Strabo.
l. 13.

appear'd in the other Sects. *Epicurus* cast a great many Aspersions upon *Aristotle*, in order to cry down his Doctrine; though *Athenaus* believes nothing of it, because *Cephisodorus* and *Eubulis*, who have writ whole Volumes against him, make not the least mention of it. But the Writings of *Aristotle* met with such a strange Adventure, after the Death of *Theophrastus*, according to the Account *Strabo* gives of them, that it will be expedient to describe their Progress, together with all the various Circumstances of it in order to mark out the Causes of the Silence of *Aristotle's* Doctrine in those Ages, in which *Plato's* made so great a Noise.

Theophrastus, strictly to observe the Orders of his Master, deliver'd the Writings of *Aristotle* into the Hands of one of the dearest of his Friends and Scholars, with the same Prohibition that was given to him. This Friend was by Name *Nelaus*, of *Scepsis* a City of *Troas*, and who dy'd soon after, yet not without letting his Heirs understand the Value of the Trust he had committed to them; and they were so sensible of it, that, when King *Pergamus*, on whom the City of *Scepsis* depended, made a great search after Books and Writings in order to make up a Library, they buried this inestimable Treasure, for its better security, in a Vault built on purpose. This so valuable a Legacy lay conceal'd in that secret Repository for the space of near one hundred and sixty Years, from whence it was at last taken out half Worm-eaten, and almost entirely corrupted by the Dampness of the Place where they had hid it. And it was now only taken out to be sold at a very dear Price to a rich *Athenian* Merchant call'd *Appellicon*, who had taken the Fancy to make himself considerable by Collecting

lecting and Amassing together a vast number of Books, though, as *Strabo* remarks of him, he Φιλάσομεν
φιλόσοφον had not the least Genius for Learning, nor any Knowledge in the Sciences. The Professors which then taught in the *Lycaum*, having intelligence of this, immediately made their Court to this Citizen, who lent them these Writings for some time, but had them return'd again and plac'd them in his Library, which became famous by so extraordinary an Addition. Some Years after, *Sylla* having made himself Master of all *Greece*, and taken *Athens*, was inform'd that there was nothing in that City more valuable than those Writings of *Aristotle*, which *Appellicon* had in his Library; whereupon he gave Orders to have them taken from thence and carried to *Rome*. But *Sylla's* Ambition of making himself Master of the Commonwealth, gave him no opportunity of letting the *Romans* know what a Treasure he had brought away from *Greece*. He dy'd soon after, and these Writings fell into the Hands of a Grammarian nam'd *Tyrannion*, who had had some Knowledge of them by his Acquaintance with *Sylla's* Library-keeper. Though this Grammarian was a very able Man, and had erected a Library of above thirty thousand Volumes, since the time that *Lucullus* had taken him Captive in the *Mitbridatick* War, and brought him to *Rome*, yet he knew not the Value of *Aristotle's* Works.

But after his death, *Andronicus* the *Rhodian* being come to *Rome*, and entertaining a just Sense of the Merit of *Aristotle*, having been himself bred up in the *Lycaum*, enter'd into an agreement with the Heirs of *Tyrannion* for these Writings; and having got Possession of them, he applied himself with so much earnestness to

the Study of them, and took such vast Pains to examine and understand them, that in some Degree he was their first Restorer, as *Porphyry* assures us in his Life of *Plotin*. For he not only supply'd what was lost by Length of Time, and by the Negligence of those, through whose Hands they were deliver'd down; but likewise reform'd that strange Confusion in which he found them, and took Care to have them copied out. 'Twas this *Andronicus* that began to make *Aristotle* known in *Rome*, about the Time that *Cicero* had, by the Greatness of his Reputation, rais'd himself to the highest Posts of Honour in the Government; being, some time before, return'd from his Voyage into *Greece*, where he had convers'd with the most noted Men for Learning and Parts in all that Country. He had likewise heard who *Aristotle* was, and was not an utter Stranger to his Merit, though he was then scarce known at all at *Rome*, as appears by the Surprize of *Trebatius*; who coming to pay a Visit to *Cicero*, at his Country-Seat at *Tusculum*, and going with him into his Library, took up by Chance the Book of *Aristotle's* *Topicks*, of which *Cicero* had a Copy. *Trebatius* ask'd him what Book that was, and what was the Subject-Matter of it? For though he was not ignorant that there had been such a Person in the World as *Aristotle*, yet he had never heard any Body speak any thing in Commendation of him. *Cicero*

Quod quidem mihi me sum admiratus cum Philosophum

Trebatius non esse cognitum qui ab ipsis Philosophis, præter admodum paucos ignoretur. *Topic.* init.

As for *Plato* he was known all the World over; for before the taking of *Athens* by *Sylla*, no Philosophy was publickly taught at *Rome* but *Plato's*, with that of the *Stoicks*. That which they tell us of *Cratyppus*, that in *Cicero's* time he taught the Philosophy of *Aristotle* in *Mitylene*, is of no Force; for he could teach it only by Tradition. So that 'tis no wonder that *Cicero*, and the Authors that flourish'd in those Times, gave the Preference to *Plato* before *Aristotle*; the Reputation of the first, was fix'd and establish'd, and that of the second in its Infancy, and by slow Degrees increasing. It is true that *Athenæus* pretends there was a Copy of *Aristotle's* Works in that famous Library of the Kings of *Ægypt*, which was begun by *Philadelphus*, the Second of the *Ptolemies*, after the Death of *Alexander*. I must confess that *Aristotle* might indeed let some of his Writings escape his Hands, as *Alexander* has observed of him by way of Reproach; but there is no likelihood that all his Works were in that Library; besides, there is not the least Instance of any one Person that ever arriv'd to the Knowledge of Things by his Method. So that we may, with great Certainty, conclude that *Aristotle* was very little known till the Reign of *Augustus*, and that *Plato* was very much. Though, to say the Truth, the *Romans* made it more their Business, more the End and Design of their Studies, to become Excellent Orators than Great Philosophers; for Eloquence was then the only Qualification to entitle them to Places of Honour. Philosophy was of very little Use, but in Matters of Morality, for the forming of a Religion, in order to oblige Men to their respective Duties towards the Gods, and towards one another.

Ut Homo
per Philo-
sophiam
cultum
Deorum
& Religi-
onem susci-
peret. Cic.
1 de Leg.

The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Plato, in the first Eight Centuries after the Coming of our Saviour.

THE Reputation of *Plato* being so much the more firmly establish'd at *Rome*, by the Approbation *Cicero* gave of him in all his Works, and particularly in his *Academicks*; it continued in that flourishing Condition during the Reigns of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, both those Princes being great Encouragers of Learning and Learned Men; though *Tiberius* unjustly put to Death * *Trasylus* the *Platonist*, a Man of universal Knowledge. † *Philo* the Jew, whom *St. Jerome*, in his *Epistles*, calls a second *Plato*, gave great Credit to this Doctrine under the Reigns of *Caligula* and *Claudius*: The Affairs of his Country having then brought him to *Rome*, where he lived under these two Emperors. *Seneca*, who was the greatest Ornament of *Nero's* Court, brought the Philosophy of the *Stoicks*, which he himself profess'd, into great Vogue; though *Dion* of *Bithynia*, *Moderatus* of *Cades*, and some other *Platonists*, had recommended with Success the Doctrine of *Plato*, to which the genteeler sort of People apply'd themselves in the Search of things Natural; tho' the greatest part follow'd the Morals of *Epicurus*, as being better suited with, and more agreeable to their Humours.

About this Time *St. Paul* being arrived at *Athens*, in order to Preach the Doctrine of *JESUS CHRIST*, had no Dispute at all with

* *Trasylus*
multarum
Artium
scientiam
professus
postremo
se dedit
Platonica
Sectæ.
Schol. Juv.
Sat. 6.

† *Quid lo-*
quar de
Philone,
quem alte-
rum Pla-
tonem Cri-
tici pro-
nuntiant.
Hier. Ep.
ad Mag.
Orat. Rom.

with the *Platonists*; At least the Author of the Acts of the Apostles makes no mention of it; though he speaks of some Opposition he met with from the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans*. 'Tis to be believ'd that, after the taking of *Athens* by *Sylla*, the School of *Plato* declin'd; at least so much may be inferr'd from *Laertius's* concluding his History of *Plato's* Successors about the Time that the Wise Men of *Greece*, leaving their Country to follow the Fortune of their Conquerors, came and settled at *Rome*, which was the *Metropolis* of the Empire. But Affairs were in such Confusion under the succeeding Emperors, that Philosophy gave place to the Spirit of Faction, which began to form it self under the corrupted Government of the first Emperors. There is also some Probability that Philosophy was at this Time so far discountenanc'd at *Rome*, that Persons of Quality, and especially the Senators, were forbid the Study of it, as appears in the Life of * *Agricola*, who went to *Marseilles* to acquire Learning where it then flourish'd.

* *Fulium*
Agricolam
per omnem
honestarum
Artium
cultum
pueritiam
adolescens
tiamq;
Massilia
transgisse,
sede & ma-
gistra stu-
diorum.
Tac. in vit
Agric.

Musonius and *Apollonius Thyaneus*, both great *Platonists*, rais'd such a Disturbance in the State, and so confounded Publick Affairs, under *Domitian*, with their Philosophy, that the Emperor was oblig'd, by a severe Edict. to expel all the Philosophers out of *Rome*, which very much lessen'd the Credit of Philosophy; tho' it is pretended that an Astrologer, call'd *Mutius Compositianus*, was the Cause of this Edict, by erecting an Horoscope he had made of the Emperor.

Studia
Philosophie
ultra quam
concessum
Roma haur-
issey ni pru-
dentia Ma-
tris coercu-
isset. Suet.
in Domit.

This Persecution lasted till *Trajan's* Time, who, though he was himself unlearn'd, became somewhat more favourable to Men of Letters. The Emperor *Adrian*, who succeed-

Dion.
Chrysof.
Orat. 40.
Philos. in
Apoll.

ed

A Comparison of

ed him in the Throne, and who was a Lover of Philosophy for his Master *Plutarch's* sake, re-establish'd it in the City of *Alexandria*, where it had lain neglected ever since the burning of that Royal School, and that Famous Library, which the Kings of *Ægypt* had erected in their Palace. For *Julius Cæsar*, when he took *Alexandria*, after the Death of *Pompey*, order'd certain suspicious Houses about the Palace to be set on Fire; the Flames of which reaching the Library, burnt Seven hundred thousand Volumes, which had been gathered together by the Industry of *Philetas*, *Philadelphus* his Master, and of *Eraſtoſthenes*, and *Appollenius* the *Rhodian*, who were all Librarians. The Affection *Adrian* had for Learning was ſo great, and ſo prevalent, that he was jealous of *Phavorinus* his Secretary, becauſe his Knowledge was more extenſive than his Maſter's. However, 'twas the Love this Prince had for Learning that made him recal *Epictetus* the great *Stoick*, *Numerius* the *Platonist*, and ſeveral other Philoſophers, who had been baniſh'd *Rome* by *Domitian*. And 'twas likewiſe by *Adrian's* Orders that *Nicetas* of *Smyrna*, *Polemon*, *Dionyſius* the *Sophiſt*, of whom *Philoſtrates* makes mention, and ſeveral other learned Men, were ſent to *Alexandria* to teach the Sciences: And the Emperor coming afterwards himſelf to *Alexandria*, propos'd ſeveral Queſtions to the Philoſophers he had ſent there, and ſolv'd them all himſelf.

Antoninus and *Marcus Aurelius*, who ſucceeded *Adrian* in the Empire, ſucceeded him likewiſe in his Inclinations to Learning, and above all to Philoſophy, which they both paſſionately admir'd. *Herodian* tells us, in his Hiſtory, that the Affection *Marcus Aurelius* had for Philoſophy,

osophy, brought it into very great Request, and vastly increas'd the Number of Professors during his Reign. He establish'd in the Schools at *Athens* the ancient Discipline, which was much decay'd, and appointed large Allowances for the Professors, as *Capitolinus* assures us, and as *Lucian* informs us more particularly in his *Eunuch*. 'Tis certain this Prince was so much taken with the Quality of a Philosopher, that *Athenagoras*, whom *Methodius* mentions among his Ecclesiastical Authors, being sent to him in the Behalf of the *Greek Churches*, complimented him and his Son *Commodus* with the Name of Philosophers, imagining that he cou'd not address himself to them in a more agreeable manner, than by flattering their Vanity with this Title.

Maximus Tyrius, a great *Platonist*, and one of *Marcus Aurelius* his Masters, contributed very much towards the making him in Love with Philosophy, and towards the bringing the Doctrine of *Plato* into Request at his Court. *Numerianus*, whom *Eusebius* speaks of, and who was a Man of great Reputation under the two *Antoninus's*, and *Croinus*, who wrote at the same time a part of the History of the *Academy*, both so far advanc'd the Credit of *Plato* at *Rome*, that his Doctrine came into Fashion amongst the Ladies at Court, insomuch that a *Stoick*, call'd *Apollonius*, whom *Photius* makes mention of, wrote a History of the *Platonick Ladies*. *Apuleius*, who was of *Madaura*, and *Galen*, that celebrated Physician, both of this Court, added much to the Character of *Plato* by what they writ upon his Doctrine. *Diogenes Laertius* rais'd the Reputation of this Philosopher to a higher Degree than any of the former, by that admirable Work he compos'd upon the History

Euf. in
præp. E-
vang. l. II.

Phot. in
Bibliot.

* Ἀρβία ἐὶλο-
καλὰ τῶνα.

History of the Ancient Philosophers, which he dedicated to a Lady of *Severus* his Court, called *Arbia*; who, as he himself says, was a passionate Admirer of *Plato*, and the same, that *Galen* cur'd of a weak Stomach with his Treacle. *Julia*, the Empress, influenc'd by the Example of her Husband *Severus*, who was a greater Encourager of Learning than the Emperor *Commodus* his Predecessor, shew'd a great Respect to Men of Letters, and had the Sciences in much Veneration, as *Dion* reports: And 'twas she that laid her Commands upon *Philostrates* to write the Life of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, such was her Inclination to Philosophy. In fine, the Reputation of *Sextus Empiricus*, who was the Chief of the Fifth Academy, made *Plato* very considerable under the *Antoninus's*; and down even to the Reign of *Severus*, there was scarce any other Philosophy taught in the Publick Schools at *Rome*, and at *Alexandria*, than that of *Plato*.

Acts 17.

This was the State and Condition of *Plato's Philosophy* during all this First Age, in which the Church and our Religion were establish'd. And the greatest Opposition the *Apostles* and their immediate Successors met with in propagating the Gospel, was from *Philosophy*; of which the World was at that time so full, that no sooner did *St. Paul* appear at *Athens*, in order to Preach *Jesus Christ*, but the *Epicureans* and *Stoicks* encounter'd him, as we may read in the *Acts*. And *St. Austin*, in his Discourse on the Sermon of that *Apostle*, says, that he met with no great Success at *Athens*, because there then reign'd there a Spirit of Curiosity, a boundless Desire among the People, of Learning something New. This Fancy of Reasoning upon Principles of *Philosophy* in all

Con-

Controversies, increas'd so mightily under those Emperours whom I but now mention'd, that *Lucian* is continually Railing at it; he never is in a better Humour, nor ever speaks better things, than when he is Drolling upon the *Philosophers*, and Ridiculing, upon all occasions, the Strength and Power *Philosophy* had gain'd in those Days, which he took delight in Exposing.

So that the Men of Learning, among the *Christians*, that they might not be at continual Oppositions with the Men of Learning among the Heathen, who disdain'd to hearken to any one that made not Profession of some *Philosophy*, at last fell in with the *Platonists*; because the Doctrine of *Plato* was then most in Vogue. The *Stoicks* began to lose their Credit; *Plutarch* and *Lucian* having discover'd the Falseness of their *Virtue*, even from several of their own Works. That Excess of Severity which they profess'd, as always happens in *Extreams*, fell at last into Looseness, and their Wise Man in *Idea* was become a meer *Chimera*. The *Philosophy* of *Epicurus*, which taught us to enjoy *Pleasures* Methodically, began likewise, in process of time, to become insupportable; by the Natural Hurry of the *Passions*, which become more violent and tumultuous by yielding to them, as was seen in this Sect. And tho' *Epicurus* seem'd only to aim at the Pleasures of the Mind, yet his *Philosophy* grew at last so Sensual, that it was utterly cry'd down and discarded, by all that were truly *Virtuous*. As for *Aristotle*, he was as yet but little known, and so all declar'd for *Plato*.

For it was believ'd, that the best way to decline contending with all that Crowd of *Philosophers*, of which the World was then full,

was

was to break their united Force, by falling in with those, whose *Opinions* least oppos'd the *Principles* of our *Religion*; and the Sect of *Plato* was look'd upon, of all others the most proper for the *Christians* to enter into Society with. And the main Reasons for this were, that the School of *Plato* finding nothing certain in Nature, but Uncertainty; it was thought easy to introduce the Light of a Revealed Religion into the Minds of those that were already prepar'd to quit their own *Opinions*, by the Profession of a *Philosophy* so unsettled in its Principles; and that Wisdom, which acknowledged its own Insufficiency to discover any thing True upon Earth, wou'd readily dispose the Mind to a Subjection to those Truths which came down from Heaven; that that Sect wou'd, without much Difficulty, acknowledge the Necessity of Faith; which looks upon all Natural Knowledge only as meer Opinion; that that *Philosophy*, which rais'd Man above himself by the Method of its *Idea's*, and took him off from too strong a Confidence in his *Senses*, by making him doubt of all things, seem'd much dispos'd for the Reception of *Christianity*, which raises us above Humane Things, and fixes us on Divine; that *Plato*, who in his Dialogue of *Cratylus*, and in that concerning *Death*, taught, that the Body is only the Prison and Sepulchre of the Soul, might likewise instruct Man how to despise it; and dispose him to that Virtue of Mortification, so necessary in a *Christian*; and lastly, that a Soul that observ'd in all its Faculties, nothing but Wants and real Miseries, as *Plato*, in his *Phædon*, and in other parts of his Works, maintains, wou'd, with small Reluctance, and with but little Distaste, relish those Maxims

of *Christian Humility* which bring a Man on to *Perfection*, by a due sense of his own *Unworthiness*, and an acknowledgment of his own *Emptiness*.

These are the chief and principal Reasons, that prevail'd on the *Christians* to embrace the *Philosophy* of *Plato*, being under a Necessity of striking in with one Sect or other; which Necessity appear'd in the Conversion of *Justin* the *Philosopher*, who afterwards became a Martyr. He declar'd, that nothing had more dispos'd his Mind to the Truths of our Faith, than the *Philosophy* of *Plato*, of which he had been a great Professor. He assures us likewise, in his Dialogue to *Tryphon*, that after a long and tedious Search after Truth in all the Schools of *Philosophy*, he cou'd find only in *Plato's* wherewith to raise his Thoughts above the Earth, where all the rest seem'd rather to fix him. The like happen'd to *Tatian* his Scholar, who was a very great *Platonist*. For he learn'd at *Rome*, that *Philosophy* which prepar'd him for *Christianity*. *Quadratus* Bishop of *Athens*, who wrote an Apology to the Emperour *Adrian*, in Defence of our Religion, of which *St. Jerom* makes honourable mention; and which was the Model of that afterwards writ by *St. Austin*. This *Quadratus*, together with *Apollinarius* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and *Meliton* Bishop of *Sardis*, were all great *Platonists*.

I mention not those other Fathers, who defended the Holiness and Innocency of our Religion, against the *Heathens*; by the Purity of their Zeal, and the Solidity of their Reasons: As *Aristides*, who by his *Philosophy* maintain'd the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, under *Adrian*; and that Wise Senator *Apollonius*, who with all

all the Splendor of his Purple, justified the Scandal of the Cross, under the Emperour *Commodus*, who order'd him to be Beheaded. Nor will I say any thing of *Athenagoras*, of *Pantemus*, mention'd by *Eusebius*, of *Meibadius*, and of that *Bardasanes* that wrote against *Marcion*. But I cannot pass by in silence that most Accomplish'd of all *Platonists*, and most Excellent of all the Fathers, the great *Origen*, who so successfully defended the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ* against *Celsus*, the most powerful Enemy it then had: Nor did he engage in its Defence, till he had compleatly Arm'd himself with the Doctrine of *Plato*, to which he was so entirely devoted, as all the World can witness. *St. Austin* likewise confesses, in several parts of his Works, that among all the Prophane Authors he had read, he found none with whom he more readily enter'd into a Negotiation about Matters of *Religion*, than the *Platonists*; and he assures us, that the most Illustrious Doctors of his Time that became *Christians*, were from the Schools of *Plato*. The Dislike that these Fathers of the Two First Ages entertain'd of *Aristotle's* Philosophy, which consulted only pure Sense and Reason, and seem'd to fix itself too much upon them, contributed not a little towards the recommending of the Doctrine of *Plato* to the Primitive *Christians*.

But after all, this Admirable Philosophy, the Lustre of which at first was very surprizing to all Men, prevail'd only for a time; there was at last discover'd a secret Poison lurking under these Flowers. *Tertullian* was one of the first that found it out; his siding with the Sect of the *Stoicks*, was what, without doubt, put him upon declaring his Aversion to the *Platonists*, whom

Lib. de
Vera Re-
lig. c. 9.

Epist. ad
Dioscor.
Lib. con-
fess. 1, &
8. c. 2, & 9.

whom he calls the first Authors of those Heresies that sprang up in his Time. The Misfortune of *Origen's* falling, after so dreadful a manner, into Error, open'd the Eyes of the greatest part of the *Christians*, and let them see, that *Plato* was the Author of all the Disorders in the Church. *St. Hyppolitus* the Martyr, whose Writings are so highly approv'd by *St. Jerome*, and *Eusebius*, exclaims loudly against this Philosopher, as the most dangerous of all others. *Lactantius* and *Arnobius*, both the most celebrated Orators of their time, have wrote with great vehemence against *Plato*, in those admirable Books of theirs, penn'd about the End of the Third Century. But of all the Fathers of those Times, none seem more justly to have found fault with the Doctrine of that Philosopher, than *St. Chrysostom*, in his Preface to his Homilies upon *St. Matthew*; where he represents *Plato* as a Visionary, and the *Idea's* of his *Commonwealth*, as wild and extravagant. 'Tis not unlikely, but that the Doctrine of this Philosopher concerning *Spirits* and *Angels*, might have contributed to the Success of that Error which spread so far, and was so prevalent amongst the *Greek Fathers*. against the Purity of the *Spirits* of *Angels*; and Authoriz'd that Opinion of their Materiality; which was one of the Heresies of *Nestorius*.

Euseb. in Antich.

It began now to appear, that this Philosophy was not so favourable to *Christianity*, as was at first believed; because it made a Search after Truth, with an intent not to find it: It pursued it through all its secret Paths, but with no Design of Discovering it. It so accustom'd the Mind, as to make it doubt of the most certain things, and plac'd all Science in Irresolution and Hesitation. It was found

G g

after-

afterwards, when it came to be more known, to be as contrary to the Principles of our Religion, as it seem'd before agreeable with, and conformable to them. For *Plato* having intermix'd his own Imaginations with what he had learn'd in *Egypt* by Tradition from the *Jews*; did insensibly inspire the Mind with a Liberty of Mingling Visions, with things Establish'd in Nature. 'Twas in his School, that the *Gnosticks* and *Valentinians* form'd their Heresies, as *Tertullian* observes; who tells us in his Book of the Soul, that *The Doctrine of Plato was become a necessary Ingredient in all Heresies*. *St. Epiphanius* says the same, in his Works; where he assures us, that the greatest part of the Hereticks of his Time, especially the *Marcionites* and *Manichees*, came out from the School of *Plato*: *St. Cyril* calls it the Fountain of Ignorance and Impiety, from whence *Arianism* sprang, which has caus'd great Troubles in the Church. For this Reason 'tis, that *St. Gregory Nazianzen* represents the Works of this Philosopher, as meer *Chimera's* and Illusions: And *St. Austin*, who had so great a Value for him in his Youth, because he found him pleasant and diverting, began to condemn him, when he came to Years of more Discretion: He wrote against this *Self* the Work he entitles, *Against the Academicks*; where he acknowledges, that the Doctrine of *Plato* had made him Irresolute; and in the Book of his *Retractions*, he repents of the Pleasure he had formerly taken in him, and of the Value he had for him. *St. Ambrose* likewise, in his Writings against *Plato*, seems very much to dislike him, as Cardinal *Baronius* assures us.

We find too, that *Justin Martyr*, and *Tatian* his Scholar, *Athenagoras*, *Bardeanes*, and those

Tertul.

c. 7. de

Pres.

Doleo bonâ

fide Plato-

nem om-

nium He-

reticorum

factum esse

condimen-

tum.

Epiph.

lib. de He-

resib.

Bar. Annal.

Eccles. ad

an. 384.

those other Apologists, who about the end of the First, and during all the Second Century, had so mightily cry'd up *Plato*, were not very Orthodox in their Opinions, but fell almost all of them into that Error concerning the Mystery of the *Trinity*, for which *Arius* was afterwards condemn'd. *Tatian*, who had so courageously defended our Religion under *Marcus Aurelius* became the Head of the *Encratites*, being led aside by the Doctrine of *Plato*, *Tertullian* says, that *Marcion* form'd a False Idea of God, by that he had taken from this Philosopher. *Sabellius* became an Heretick, by his obstinate adherence to the Doctrine of *Plato*; he defil'd the Purity of *Christianity*, by his wild and extravagant Conceptions, as fair Water is polluted by being mixed with Mud and Dirt; as *Theodore* observes. *St. Basil* says, that *Plato's* Notion of the *Chaos* before the Creation of the World, in his *Timæus*; where he speaks of the Earth, as of a Canvas extended from the Drawing of a Picture on it, is an Errour taken from the first Words of *Genesis*, which he had read.

The Fathers therefore of the Third and Fourth Century, who were sensible of *Plato's* Philosophy, utterly discarded it; tho' it had met with great Approbation amongst the *Christians* of the First and Second Ages. But it became more flourishing than ever, among the Heathen, under the Emperours, *Gordian*, *Philip*, *Valerian* and *Julian*, by the Works of *Plotinus*, who was the first, and most famous Commentator on *Plato*. This *Plotinus* was an *Egyptian*, who had studied Philosophy in *Alexandria* under that *Ammonius*; who, from a *Porter*, became one of the greatest Philosophers of his time, and who was a *Christian*. *Tryphon*, *Origen's*

Bar. An.
nal. Eccles.
ad an. 174.
Tertul.
contra He-
res. c. 7.

Theod.
de curand.
Affectib.
Græcorum.

And the
Earth was
without
form, and
void, Gen. 1.

A Comparison of

Scholar accuses *Plotinus* of having stole what he had wrote of *Plato*, from *Numenius*, who liv'd under *Antoninus*; but *Acilius* justifies him, in a Discourse wrote on purpose. However it were, *Plotinus* in his Commentary upon *Plato*, has explain'd him after so excellent a manner, that we dare affirm, that he rais'd his Fame in *Galienus* his Court. For the Emperour, and Empress *Saronine*, had so great an Esteem and Value for *Plotinus*, that they permitted him to establish the Government *Plato* had given an Idea of, in his Books of *Commonwealth*, in a City of *Italy*, which they had granted him on purpose that he might try the Project. But this Design came to nothing, for many Reasons that may be given. Tho' *Plotinus* redeem'd the Credit of *Plato* in this Age: for 'twas from his School those Illustrious *Platonists* of the Fourth and Fifth Century came, *Amelius*, *Porphyrus*, *Jamblicus*, *Sopater*, *Proclus* and *Damascius*, who succeeded one another, and who met with new Allurements in Philosophy, from the Favours they receiv'd from the Emperours, and especially from *Julian the Apostate*; whose Reign was the more favourable to the *Platonists*, because he had so great a desire to be one himself. Before he was made Emperour, he undertook a Voyage to *Athens*, on purpose to put on the Gown of Philosophy, and to be initiated into their Forms, that he might make a more solemn Profession of it; and when he came to be Emperour, he prefer'd Philosophers to Persons of Honour, giving them a Share in the Administration of Publick Affairs, by making them Governours of, and Intendants over Provinces.

Recentiores Philosophi nobilissimi, quibus Plato sectandus placuit, noluerunt dici Academici, sed Platonici, quibus sunt nobilitati Græci, Plotinus, Jamblicus, Porphyrus. Aug. de Civ. l. 8. c. 12.

But the vast Credit of *Plato* began to sink under the Successors of *Julian*, under *Arcadius*, *Honorius*, and the two *Theodosius*'s; for these Emperors, being Christians, complied with the Opinions of *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Jerome*, and *St. Austin*, who had discover'd the Falseness of that Doctrine. 'Tis true that some time before, the Emperor *Constantine*, in a Harangue he made to the Fathers assembled in Council at *Nice*, very much commended the Morals of this Philosopher, and above all that part where he speaks of the Rewards and Punishments that attend Good and Evil Actions after this Life. But it was never intended to cry down all *Plato*, because there was some Danger from some Pieces of his Works; which Danger never more appear'd, than after those Reflections that were made upon the dreadful Adventures of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyry*, *Julian the Apostate*, *Jamblicus*, *Proclus*, and several other *Platonists*, who became either Magicians or Atheists. *Plotinus* suffering himself to be seduc'd at *Rome* by an *Ægyptian* Priest, began his Enchantments in the Temple of *Isis*. *Porphyry* became a Persecutor of the Church, and *Julian* the Emperor, after he had renounc'd Christianity, grew a stricter Observer of *Plato*; for this Philosophy, such is the Foundation of it, by the Doubts it raises, and hesitating upon every thing, leads either to Impiety or *Pyrrhonism*. 'Tis said too that *Maximus* of *Ephesus*, who was *Julian* the Emperor's Master, brought him over to Paganism by a secret Philosophy he had learn'd from *Jamblicus*. But this *Maximus* became so odious and detestable for the abominable Principles of his Philosophy, which was a perfect Magick, that the Emperor *Valentinian* order'd him to be put to Death, as *So-*

crates observes in his History. We may find likewise in one of the Epigrams of *Callimachus*, that a Person nam'd *Cleombrotus*, a great Follower of *Plato*, threw himself down a steep Rock out of a Desire to die, having learn'd to despise Death by reading this Philosopher. All these Adventures are sufficient Instances to convince us of the Danger of this Philosophy.

Towards the latter End of the Fifth Century there was a Bishop of *Vienne* in *France*, call'd *Mamercus*, that made a Party for *Plato*, but it came to nothing. In short, this Philosophy was entirely discarded under *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, *Heraclius*, and even to the End of the Eighth Century. The Incurſion of the *Goths* into *Italy*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*; the Wars of the *Saracens* in *Aſia*, the taking of *Alexanaria* by the *Muſſelmans*, which happen'd in the 20th Year of the *Hegira*, and in the 642 of our Saviour; the Proſecution rais'd againſt Philoſophers by the Emperor *Leo Iſauricus* in the Year 750, who commanded his own Maſter and ſeveral other Philoſophers to be burnt together with their Books; theſe, and other ſuch Diſgraces entirely ruin'd the Study and Credit of Philoſophy, and blaſted the Reputation of *Plato*, even in thoſe very Places where he had ſhone with the greateſt Luſtre. The Uſe likewiſe of the *Greek* Tongue began to be abolish'd in *Aegypt* after the Conqueſts of the *Arabians*, under the Reign of the *Caliph Valid*, who kept his Court at *Damaſcus*; for this Prince having given out Orders that the *Greeks* ſhould uſe no other Language in their Publick Acts but *Arabic*, it much increas'd that Ignorance which now began to overſpread all *Greece* and *Italy*.

C H A P. IV.

The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Aristotle in the first Eight Centuries.

THE Merit of *Aristotle* began, as I have before observ'd, to be known in *Rome* by the Diligence of *Andronicus* in recovering his Writings, and the repeated Encomiums *Cicero* in several Parts of his Works gave him; but it must be acknowledg'd that 'twill require a great deal of Time, and much Light to sound this vast Abyss, and dive to the very bottom of it; because, after all, there are in this Author a great many Clouds to be dispell'd, Difficulties to be clear'd, and Thorns and Briars to be rooted up, which was the Reason why he could not be well understood till after a long Course of Study, and great Application of Thought. We shall here present you with an Account of the Adventures of his Sect, and of his Philosophy.

Atbenodorus of *Tarsus*, whom *Plutarch* mentions, was the first that, in the Court of *Augustus*, introduc'd the Categories of *Aristotle*, by his Commentaries upon them, which *Simplicius* speaks of with great Commendation. *Plutarch* says, that *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, a great *Peripatetic*, and much in Favour with the Emperour, taught him *Aristotle*, from those Books he had wrote upon his Doctrine; but with little Success, that Prince being affected with nothing but the Verses of *Virgil* and *Horace*. *Strabo* says, that during the Reign of *Augustus*, two other

Philosophers, *Zenarchus* and *Athenaus*, both of *Seleucia*, came to *Rome* to teach *Aristotle's* Philosophy, *Zenarchus* having taught it before at *Athens* and *Alexandria*; for all those that were Men of any Abilities, came at that Time to *Rome* to make themselves known, as I have before observ'd. There was not any one Philosopher, that was a Follower of *Aristotle*, that gain'd any Reputation under the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*.

Nero had a *Peripaterick* for his Master, call'd *Alexander* of *Egea*, as *Suidas* informs us. But this Philosopher had not Interest enough, nor was he himself a Person of sufficient Credit to bring the Doctrine of *Aristotle* into very great Vogue, at a Court where *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, both *Stoicks*, had so much Power. There was likewise one *Adrastus*, who took a great deal of Pains about the Writings of *Aristotle*, to put the Books in their due Places, and the Chapters in their natural Order: but his Work is lost. *Sotion*, who was *Seneca's* Master, forsook, together with *Sosigenes* and *Hernippus*, the Doctrine of *Plato* for that of *Aristotle*. And altho' the Spirit of Intrigue reign'd very much among the Persons of Quality under the succeeding Emperors; yet there was found in the Court of *Vitellius* a Man of a vast Genius, nam'd * *Helvidius Priscus*, who apply'd himself to Philosophy: Not, says *Tacitus*, with a Design of making it a specious Pretence for Sloth and Idleness, as others did; but to strengthen and confirm his Mind against the various Events of Fortune, which were very frequent, through the Inconstancy of the Emperors. With him there retir'd from Court *Petus*, and his Son-in-Law *Thraseas*, in order to prosecute the same Studies, Men that had Souls too great to see so many Disorders

* *Ingenium*
illustre al-
rioribus
studii Hel-
vidius de-
dit: non
ut plerique
magnifico
philosophia
nomine seg-
ne otium
velaret, sed
quo firmior
adversus
fortuita
Repub.
capescret.
Tac. l. 4.
Hist.

ders committed in the Government without Redress.

The Persecution rais'd by *Domitian* against Philosophers at *Rome*, and attended with a Contempt cast upon Philosophy it self, brought the Study of it into great Disrepute throughout the whole Empire. But its Credit began to revive again under *Adrian*, who, amongst the wise Men that bore any Character at his own Court, of whom *Favormus* the *Peripatetick* was one, made himself the most considerable Figure. *Taurus* of *Berytus*, who wrote a Discourse concerning the Difference between the Philosophy of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, signaliz'd himself in the Court of *Commodus*: And *Sosigenes*, *Hermippus*, and *Alexander Aphrodisiens*, were the first Professors of the *Peripatetick* Philosophy establish'd at *Rome* by the Emperors *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, as *Alexander* himself testifies in his Commentaries. This learned Man was the first that open'd the Passage for that Crowd of Commentators that follow'd him, of which he was himself a Man of the best Understanding, and had wrote the clearest. *Galen*, Physician to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, a Man of a most sprightly Genius, and a fine Wit, and of the most Learning of any about the Court, studied the Doctrine of *Aristotle* with great Application, and wrote very learned Commentaries upon the Works of that Philosopher. *Alexander* of *Damascus* taught the Doctrine of *Aristotle* then at *Athens*, as *Ammonius Saccas* did at *Alexandria*. The Reputation of this *Ammonius* was very great, by Reason of his extraordinary Genius for the Sciences: Having made himself Master of the Doctrine of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, which he had joined together, he was the first that

gave

gave Rise to a mix'd Philosophy compos'd of both, which the Men of Learning afterwards embrac'd, as *Plotinus*, *Porphry*, *Syrien* of *Alexandria*, and his Scholar *Proclus*, whom *Simplicius* calls the Master of his Masters, and several others.

At this Time, which was so remarkable for eminent Men, the Profundity of *Aristotle's* Genius began to be known by the unwearied Application of those Men of Learning that had studied his Doctrine, and explain'd it by their Commentaries, such as were *Aphrodisens* under *Antoninus*, *Aspasius* under *Commodus*; *Syrianus* under *Gordian*; *Porphry* under *Galienus* and *Arrelian*; *Proclus* under *Julian*, the second *Ammonius* his Scholar, who had writ so well upon the Book of *Interpretation* of *Aristotle*, under *Valentinian*; *Didymus*, who was St. *Jerome's* Master, under *Gratian*; *Themistbius* under *Jovianian* and *Valens*; St. *Augustin* under *Honorius*; *Olympiodorus* under the young *Theodosius*; *Simplicius* and *Philoponus* under *Justin* and *Justinian*; *Boetius* under the Emperor *Anastasius*, and King *Theodorick*; not to mention *Asclepius*, *Priscian*, *Dixippus*, *Damascius*, and an infinite number of others. All these great Men, who for their Learning were the Glory of these first Ages, contributed very much, by their Writings, towards the Advance of *Aristotle's* Doctrine, and its being made publick to all the World; which the more it was known, the more it was esteem'd and valued. The ill Treatment the Professors of this Philosophy met with under the Emperor *Caracalla*, was not very prejudicial to the Sect, because of the mean Opinion all the World had of that Prince, who by his Extravagancies had made himself odious and contemptible; for he had unjustly put to

Death

The Opinions of the Christians in the three first Ages were not so much in favour of *Aristotle* as of *Plato*; but in process of time, the Reputation of *Aristotle* increas'd, in proportion to the Number of those that applied themselves to the Study of him, as on the contrary, the Credit of *Plato* sunk upon Examination. The

would not admit him into their Libraries. *Ter-* Tertul.
ullian looks upon him as a miserable Sophist, l. 1. de
 under whose Conduct all the Enemies of our Præscript.
 Faith to take up Arms to fight in defence of Error, *Beware*
 and believes that it was his Doctrine, left any
 which the Apostle, in the Epistle to the *Colossi-* Man spoil
ans, advises the Faithful to beware of, because you through
 of the Danger that attended it; which Danger Philosophy,
 may be perceiv'd from that Instance of the Coloss. 2.
Theodosians under the Emperor *Severus*, who
 made use of the Method and Reasonings of
Aristotle to uphold and support their Error.

The *Carpocratians* were condemn'd for erecting a Statue of this Philosopher, and placing it near an Image of *Jesus Christ*, and for paying Adoration to him out of an extravagant Zeal for his Doctrine. The *Ælians* were excommunicated by the Church, and by the *Arians* themselves, from whom they had separated, for

Bar. An-
nal. Eccl.
ad an. 120.
Ibid. ad
an. 208.

Euseb.

Hist. c. 27.

for teaching their Scholars the Categories of *Aristotle* as a Catechism. The *Antinomians* were arriv'd to such a height of Impiety, as to pay a greater Respect to this Wise Heathen than to the uncreated Wisdom.

Origen, in his Books against *Celsus*, at the Beginning of one of the First of them, endeavours to cry down *Aristotle* among the Christians, being himself very much prejudic'd in favour of *Plato*. For he found too much Reason in *Aristotle's* Philosophy, and being us'd to the fine Flourishes, and agreeable Airs of *Plato*, he cou'd not comply with him. The greatest Part of the other Fathers were of the same Opinion as *St. Justin*, in his Dialogue to *Trophon*; *St. Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his Advertisements to the Gentiles; *St. Irenaeus*, in his Books against Hereticks; *St. Eusebius*, in several pieces of his Works; *St. Athanasius*, against *Macedonian*; *St. Basil*, and *St. Gregory of Nice*, against *Eunomius*; *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, in his twenty sixth and twenty seventh Oration; *St. Epiphanius*, in his second Book of Heresies; *Faustin*, in his Book against the *Arians*; *St. Ambrose*, in his first Book of his Offices; *St. Chrysostome*, on the Epistle to the *Romans*; *St. Cyril*, against the Emperor *Julian*, and an infinite Number of others, who found something to say against *Aristotle*, for fear lest a Character of his Logick shou'd be too deeply imprinted upon the Minds of the Christians; a Logick nice in every Point, and directly contrary to the Faith which requires an entire submission. They believ'd that the Doctrine of this Philosopher might easily be perverted to an ill Use, because they did not rightly comprehend it. We are call'd Faithful (says *St. Chrysostome*) that by a contempt of Human Reason we may raise our selves to the height of Faith.

Hom. 24.
In Johan.

However

However in the End it was found, that this Art of Reasoning which *Aristotle* taught, was not false in any part of it, but was very Solid and Substantial, and might be of great Service to Religion, which, though supernatural, was yet conformable to Reason. *Anatolius*, whom *Eusebius* calls the most Learned Man in his time, and who was afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea*, was the first Christian that taught the Doctrine of *Aristotle* at *Alexandria*, and that made him known about the End of the third Century, under the Reign of *Dioclesian*. The Authority of this Learned Man re-establish'd *Aristotle's* Credit in *Ægypt*, and got him Reputation in *Italy*. *Themisthius*, a celebrated *Peripatetick*, and an intimate Friend of *St. Gregory Nazianzen's* not being able to mollifie the obdurate Heart of the Emperor *Valens* against the Christians, very much rais'd the Glory of *Aristotle* under the Reign of *Theodosius*, who did him the Honour, though he was a *Pagan*, to entrust him with the care of his Son *Arcadius*, during a Voyage the young Prince made into *Italy*. *St. Jerome* speaks very favourably of the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, in his second Book against *Pelagius*. *St. Austin*, who was a Man of so piercing a Genius, wou'd never have bestow'd so much labour upon this Author, had he not had a Value for him; and in those Books he has wrote against *Cresconius*, he very much blames *Donatist* the Grammarian, for endeavouring to deprive the Church of the Use of Logick, which was so serviceable for the Defence of its Sacred Truths. *Theodore* has great Encomiums upon that admirable Blind Man *Didymus* of *Alexandria*, a Person of the most Learning of any of his time, because he understood well the Doctrine of *Aristotle*: He commends him

*Peripateticorum
sententie
consentit
sanctæ
scripturæ
authoritas.*
Hier.

Theod.
l. 4. Hist.
Eccl. c. 29.

him likewise for having so clearly explain'd him in his Commentary, which he wrote about the End of the fourth Century. *Victorinus*, who was one of St. *Jerome's* Masters, and whom this Father reckons among the Ecclesiastical Writers, began to translate into *Latin* *Porphyry's* Introduction to the Works of *Aristotle*, a Treatise very necessary for the Understanding of him. *Prætextatus* has translated into the same Language his Books of *Analyticks*.

Sof. Hist.
Eccl.
Præf.

The Emperor *Theodosius* the Younger, who, according to the Account *Sozomenes* gives of him, had a great Love for Learning, sent for a *Peripatetick* Philosopher nam'd *Celsus* from Greece to teach Philosophy at *Rome*, for which he gave him a considerable Pension. This Em-

Inter præ-
cipia nego-
tiorum cu-
raturum est,
ut in eru-
diendis No-
bilibus
præceptores
ex Attica
poscerentur.
Sym. l. 10.
Ep. 18.

peror, as *Symmachus* assures us in his Epistles, took great care to procure able Men from *Athens* to instruct the *Roman* Youth, and to make the Love of Learning flourish under his Reign. In fine, that Illustrious *Roman*, *Severinus Boetius*, who was three times Consul, after having studied the Philosophy of *Aristotle* at *Athens* for eighteen Years, and thoroughly consider'd it with great Application of Thought, translated some of his Works into *Latin*. He was the first that introduc'd this Philosophy into the *Latin* Church, where he was known only by the Noise the Translations and Commentaries of the *Greek* Interpreters had made in the World: His Reputation in a very little time spread over all *Italy*. So that *Aristotle* did not begin to be publickly known in the *West* till the sixth Century; and it was to this *Boetius*, who had the greatest Genius for Learning beyond any of his time, that he was indebted for his Success in these Parts.

But

But although, through the Industry of *Boetius*, a great many were indeed brought over to the Doctrine of *Aristotle* which was at that time, with so much perspicuity, display'd to all the World; yet such was the Unhappiness of the Age, harass'd with the Wars of *Italy*, and infested with the Ignorance of the Illiterate Emperors, that, from *Boetius* his time even to the End of the eighth Century, there was only *St. John Damascenus* under the Emperor *Copronymus* that appear'd to have any Love for Philosophy. He was of *Syria*, where there were still some remains of Learning. He apply'd himself to the Study of *Aristotle*, and made an Abridgment of his Logick, his Morals, and his other Works, but the Ignorance and Stupidity of that and the succeeding Age was so gross, that those that profess'd themselves Men of Letters, were look'd upon as Conjurers; As *Belarmine* reports of Pope *Sylvester* the Second, who understood Philosophy and Geometry. From hence it appears that *Aristotle* was but little known among the *Greek*, and less among the *Latin* Fathers; and that there was but little use made of him in Matters of Religion during these first Centuries. Let us now see what Success he had in the following Ages: and to that End we will examine what has been the Fortune of *Plato* and *Aristotle* in these latter Days.

CHAP. V.

*The Opinions of the Learned of the
eight last Centuries upon the Doctrine
of Plato.*

THE sad and dismal Estate of Greece and Italy in these latter Ages, occasion'd by the terrible Revolutions of those two Empires, allow'd neither time, nor indeed so much as Liberty to those who had a Genius for Learning, to apply themselves to it. The Confusion of the Times rais'd a Confusion in the Studies of Philosophy, even amongst its Professors. *Zonaras*, in the third Tome of his History, speaks of a Philosopher call'd *Leo*, who in the ninth Century, under the Emperor *Michael*, and the Empress *Theodora* his Mother, became famous at *Constantinople* by the Interest and Favour of *Bardos* the Emperor's Uncle, who was a Lover of Learning. This *Leo* was Bishop of *Thessalonica*; the Emperor was made sensible of his Merit, by the pressing Instances of the King of the *Saracens*, who beg'd him of the Court that he might instruct him in the Sciences. *Photius*, who was afterwards Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the most Learned Person of his Time, was an Eminent Man in the same Reign; but neither was the Patriarch nor the Bishop such Professors of Philosophy as to adhere either to that of *Plato* or *Aristotle*. The desire of Learning was quite extinct among the Ecclesiasticks in the tenth Century; for the Church enjoying a profound Peace there was nothing

nothing to stir up that Emulation, which generally advances Learning.

Michael Pfellus, who was amongst the Number of the Learned under the Eleventh Century, apply'd himself with great Industry to the Study of *Plato*; but seeing no body appear'd in Dispute against him upon the Opinions he entertain'd of that Author, he fell to writing upon *Aristotle* and other Subjects. *Hugo St. Victor*, a Man well vers'd in Letters, gave us some *Inuendo's* in his Writings, by which we might conclude that he himself was not highly affected with the Merit of *Plato*, and that he did not mightily approve of his Doctrine. We find too, much about the same Time, that in Engagements *St. Bernard* had with *Abailard*, an Eminent Divine of the Faculty at *Paris*, the latter had this Reflection made upon him, That upon such vain Attempts to prove *Plato* a Christian, he was in Danger of proving himself a Heathen. It was observ'd likewise, that *St. Thomas* apply'd himself to the Study of *Plato* in his Time; but 'twas only with a Design to refute the Idea's, and some other of the Opinions of that Philosopher upon Metaphysics, which in his Judgment did not seem to carry with them much Solidity.

Dum multum sudat, quomodo faciat Platonem Christianum, se probat Ethnicum. Ber. ad Innoc. Epist.

In short, whether it were the Calm in which the Church continued for some of the following Centuries, that gave more Time and Opportunity to the Doctors to study the Fathers, and make their Reflections upon the Opinions they had entertain'd of the Doctrine of *Plato*, which had appear'd so dangerous; or whether the Genius of those Times did not incline Men to the Study of that Philosophy; whatever Reason may be assign'd, certain it is, that it was entirely laid aside till the Fourteenth Cen-

A Comparison of

tury, in which the continual Wars in the *East*; the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, the Council of *Basil*, and the Council of *Florence*, brought into *Italy* the most Learned Men of all *Greece*, who contributed not a little towards the Reviving of *Plato's* Glory, and the Re-establishing of the Reputation of his Doctrine in the *West*.

The most considerable among those *Greeks* that came into *Italy*, were *John Argyropolis*, to whom the great *Cosmo de Medicis* committed the Education of his two Sons; *Emanuel Cbrysolore*, the first that Reviv'd the Love of Learning in *Italy*; *Theodorus of Gaza*, and *George of Trebisond*, both very zealous for the Doctrine of *Aristotle*. *Bessarion* Arch-bishop of *Nice*, and Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Gemistus Plethon*. *Bessarion*, who was a great Admirer of *Plato*, having heard the Name of *Aristotle* mention'd with Applause in the Council of *Florence*, and understanding that the most Celebrated Father in the *Latin* Church, *St. Thomas*, had writ a Commentary on his Doctrine, seem'd much astonish'd at it. But he was more surpriz'd when he saw the Works of *George of Trebisond*, who in a Comparison between *Plato* and *Aristotle*, which he had then publish'd, gave all the Advantage to *Aristotle*. This oblig'd the Patriarch to make an Apology for *Plato*, in that excellent Work he entitles, *Against the Calumniator*. This Great Man had prevail'd upon *John Paleologus* then Emperor of *Constantinople*, to treat of an Accommodation with Pope *Eugenius IV.* for the Re-union of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, and answer'd with much Zeal and a great deal of Warmth the Cavils and Objections of *Mark of Ephesus*, who oppos'd the Design, for which the Pope made him a Cardinal. He

made

made use of all those Advantages his Character had given him, to raise the Reputation of *Plato* in the Court of *Rome*, and in that of *Florence*; the last of which had a Value and Esteem for Learning and Learned Men, and was already prejudic'd, in Favour of *Plato*, by *Argyropolis*.

But nothing so much rais'd the Affection this Duke of *Florence* had for the Philosophy of *Plato*, as the Discourse *Gemistus Pletbon* made upon that Doctrine, in his Presence. *Marcilius Ficinus*, his Physician's Son, having assisted at one of these Discourses, at Thirteen Years of Age, and appearing much delighted with such Performances, as he himself confesses in his Preface to *Plotinus*, the Great *Cosmo* call'd him his Interpreter upon *Plato*; and order'd that he shou'd be furnish'd with the Commentaries of *Plotinus*, to prepare him for that Study. He made him Chief of the Academy he then design'd to erect in that Republick for the Teaching of *Plato's* Doctrine, and assign'd him a Pension, which was constantly paid him from that very Year. The Love and Esteem which this Prince and his Successors *Peter*, *John*, and *Laurence de Medicis* had for *Plato*: The Writings of *Marcilius Ficinus* on the Doctrine of this Philosopher, together with those of Cardinal *Bessarion* and *Pletbon*, which were highly valued, very much reviv'd the Credit of *Plato* in *Italy*; so that most Learned Men, that were of any Reputation, became *Platonists*; as *John Cavalcante*, *Angelus Politian*, Cardinal *Cusa*, *John Picus de Mirandula*, *Pomponacius*, Professor of *Padua*, *Jerom Fracaster*, a great Poet, and a famous Physician, and Pupil to *Pomponacius*, *Cardan*, *Aretine*, *Frederick Duke of Urbin*, *James Mizzonius* Professor

Proem. in
Plotin. ad
Lauren.
Med.

of *Pisa*, who has writ both upon *Plato* and *Aristotle*. *Ferome Donatus* of *Verona*, who has publish'd a Treatise concerning the Difference of their Philosophy, *Cremonius*, *Patricius*, and a large Number of several other Learned Men that flourish'd in *Italy* in the Fifteenth Century. For, as the House of *Medicis* contributed much to the Establishment of Learning, partly by the Learning of its Princes, and partly by their Munificence to Men of Letters; so that the greatest Part of those that apply'd themselves to it, embrac'd their Opinions, and favour'd the Doctrine of *Plato*; which was now esteem'd so pleasant and agreeable; and so Ingenious, that it became the Universal Study of all the Men of Fine Parts.

Reor hoc
providentiâ
Divinâ de-
cretum, ut
perversa
multorum
ingenia,
quæ soli
divinæ le-
gis autho-
ritati haud
facile ce-
dunt, Pla-
tonicis sal-
tem ratio-
nibus reli-
gioni ad-
modum
suffragan-
tibus acqui-
escant. Fi-
cin. Proæm.
ad Plat.
Theologi-
am.

However, in the End, *Marcilius Ficinus*, transported with this Philosophy, carried Things too far. For he too vainly imagin'd, that the Doctrine of Faith might be supported by the Opinions of this Philosopher: He said, That the Dialogue of *Criton* was a Summary of the Gospel; and undertook to explain that most Incomprehensible, and most Inexplicable of all our Mysteries, the Mystery of the Trinity, by the Doctrine of *Plato*. He pretended to silence the Spirits of those that resisted the Authority of *JESUS CHRIST*, by the Authority of *Plato*. These Extravagancies open'd many Peoples Eyes, and let them see, that this Philosophy inclin'd its Professors to Infidelity; who engag'd to support and maintain, by so weak an Authority, whatever was in our Religion most difficult to comprehend. 'Twas this Doctrine that drew *Picus de Mirandula*, who was so great an Admirer of it, into Error; *Arctine* into Liberti-

nism,

nism, *Cremoninus*, *Pomponacius*, and others into Incredulity. *Cardan*, a Physician of *Pavia*, who had compos'd a mix'd kind of Philosophy, made up of Judicial Astrology, and collected from the Ancient Philosophers of all Sects; taught, under *Leo* the Tenth, That there were certain Spirits in the Air, cloath'd with little subtil Bodies, like thin Clouds; which Opinion he had deriv'd from *Plato*, with several other strange Fancies. *Gaddi* mentions these his *Chimera's* in his *Bibliotheca*; and adds, that his Notions concerning the Immortality of the Soul was very much suspected; and that, notwithstanding his large Share of Wisdom, he pass'd for a Visionary in many Things. Thus was this Philosophy found to be not only vain in it self, but of dangerous Consequence in the Use that might be made of it, were not great Care taken. This oblig'd Cardinal *Bellarmino*, who was a Man of the most solid Judgment of any in his Time, to divers Pope *Clement VIII.* who built the College of *Sapienza* in *Rome*, from founding a Chair there, for the Teaching of the Doctrine of *Plato*. And we find in the Memoirs of *M. Canaye*, that one *Prioli*, a Noble-Man of *Venice*, being sent Ambassador by the Republick to *Henry* the Great, did, before his Departure from that Court, intercede with the King, that by his Permission an *Italian* Doctor, one of his Friends, might come and teach the Philosophy of *Plato* at *Paris*; which he assur'd his Majesty he well understood, and had long studied. But the King being advis'd by his Council of the Danger that might arise from giving too much Credit to this Philosophy, wou'd not grant his Consent.

In fine, Father *Petau*, a Divine of the Society of *Jesus*, in the first Chapter of the

second Volume of his Maxims, represents the Danger of studying of *Plato*, without standing upon our Guard; and shews us to what Excess they are subject, and to what Extravagancies they are hurried, who too much submit their Judgments to the Opinion of this Philosopher. All which he proves from the Writings of the Fathers, and from their Notions; and from the sad Examples of others. But to conclude our History, the Doctrine of *Plato* is very little used in this present Age; Fate and Destiny having confin'd it to the Liberties, and lock'd it up in the Closets of some Declaimers, who flourish in the Bench, or at the Bar; for truly *Plato's* Discourses are brisk and lively, and shine forth with a great deal of Lustre: But his giving us only the Appearances of Truth, leaves the Minds of those that read him in a great Uncertainty, as to the Reality of those Things he treats of: There is nothing in all his Doctrine solid and substantial, tho' he's pleasant and diverting. The only Use that can be made of *Plato*, is that which *St. Austin* made of him, the reducing of those Things he treats of to Perfection by their *Idea's*, in order to form true Portraitsures. *Plato* is likewise serviceable in furnishing the Eloquent with bright Expressions. Having nothing farther to observe upon this Philosopher, I return to *Aristotle*.

C H A P. VI.

The OPINIONS of the Learned
of the Eight Last Centuries upon
the DOCTRINE of ARI-
STOTLE

THE Adventures of *Aristotle* were so various and unaccountable in these last Ages, that we cannot without some Difficulty comprehend how 'tis possible, that in such a Space of Time there cou'd be so many different Judgments form'd upon the same Person. For never was any Philosophy treated at the same Time with more Honour or more Infamy, than that of *Aristotle*; the History of it is very surprizing. The paucity of Learned Men in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, the Ignorance of the *Greek* Tongue, and the Scarcity of good Manuscripts of the Commentaries upon *Aristotle*, put a great Stop to the Progress of his Doctrine; Men wou'd not trust his Interpreters, without consulting the Original Text. Besides all this, his Doctrine was so subtile, or rather so profound, and his Stile so harsh, so close and concise, that it requir'd great Attention and Application, so that many were diverted from it. The most Understanding Men of those Times imitating the Primitive Fathers, who had neglected this Philosopher, look'd upon him as not worth their Examination; and were suspicious, like those Fathers, that a Philosophy that depended so much upon Nature, the Senses, and upon

Reason, and cou'd be of very little Service to Religion. There were likewise a Sort of half-witted People, a People that had but a slight and superficial Knowledge of Things, who undertook to cry down this Philosophy, because they understood it not. Such was the State and Condition of *Aristotle* in the *Latin* Church; a Church that cou'd not boast of many Learned Men; Idleness, or the Calm and Quiet they enjoy'd, having sunk their Spirits. It must be confess'd, that the Simplicity that reign'd in that Age, especially in the Church, and in the Monasteries, where alone were the Men of Learning to be met with, cou'd not fall in, and comply with the Reasonings of *Aristotle*, which seem'd to inspire a Spirit of Contradiction, directly opposite to the Submission, and entire Resignation of Faith. 'Twas this that oblig'd *Bernard*, and *Otto* Bishop of *Thuringia*, to declaim with so much Zeal against *Abailard*, and *Porretine* Bishop of *Poitiers*, for having corrupted their Minds with a false *Logick*, which they had learn'd by studying of *Aristotle*.

The *Greeks*, who again flourish'd in the Eleventh, and some of the succeeding Centuries, had better studied *Aristotle*, from those Admirable Commentators of the first Ages, whom they carefully read. Their Language, which was still preserv'd entire at *Constantinople*, notwithstanding the Wars, was of great Service to them, in keeping up a Correspondence between *Aristotle* and his Commentators. Yet there were but a few amongst the Learned that apply'd themselves to the Study of this Philosophy: The most that labour'd in it, were *Sisennius* under the Emperour *Constantine*, *Monemachus*, *Pfellus* under *Michael Stratioticus*, *Magen-*

tinus and Michael of Ephesus, about the Reign of Isaac Comenus, Nicephorus Blemmydes under the Emperor John Ducas, Eustathius Bishop of Thessalonica, Cantacuzenes, who, after he had wore the Imperial Purple, became a Recluse upon Mount Athos; George Pachymeres, Theodorus Metochita, George of Cyprus, Chilas of Ephesus, Daniel Cyzigenes, Glycis, Gregorias, Planudes, and several others under the succeeding Emperours, who all added to the Credit of Aristotle in the Greek Church.

But the Reputation of this Great Man had extended it self with greater Splendor over all Africa amongst the Arabs and Moors. For Mahomet, who in the Seventh Century being made General of an Army, had pretended himself a Prophet, and established a new Religion by Fire and Sword, made way by his Conquests for the Love of Learning in Countries where it had been much neglected; a thing that generally attends Power and Success. The first Calyph of his Successors that was observ'd to be this way inclin'd, was Almanzor, the Founder of Bagdat, of the Family of Ben-Abas, who began to reign in the Year of the Egira 137, and in the Year of our Lord 755. He joyn'd to the Study of the Law, that is, of the Alcoran, which was the only Study of his Predecessors, that of Philosophy and Astronomy. The Calyph Abdalla, who began to reign in the Year 815, sent Ambassadors to the Emperor at Constanti-
ople to request of him some Books of the Sciences; which having obtain'd, he gave Orders to have them translated into his own Language, to stir up the People to the Love of Learning. Nor were his Endeavours in this Affair ineffectual, for his Reign produc'd many Philosophers, and several very able Physicians.

There

There are some Historians amongst the *A-rabs* that affirm, That *Mahomet*, by his Law, forbade the Study of Learning, the better to conceal the Absurdities of his Religion under a Profession of Ignorance; but that the *Calyph Almamon*, or *Maimon*, reviv'd the Love of Learning upon an Apparition that appear'd to him by Night in the Form of *Aristotle*, encouraging him to the Study of Philosophy. This *Calyph* having defeated the Emperor *Michael*, in the Treaty of Peace made this one of the Articles, That there should be a Communication of their Books. It was he, if we may give any Credit to *Scaliger*, that commanded the *Almagist* of *Ptolomy* to be translated into his Language, in order to teach his Subjects Astronomy.

So that the Sciences, which had pass'd from *Greece* into *Italy*, pass'd from *Italy* into *Africa*, together with the Government which continued in that Part of the World to the Year 1258, at which Time *Bagdat* was taken by the *Tartars*. But a Love for Learning, and an Affection for the Sciences still remain'd under the Kings of *Egypt*, *Fez* and *Morocco*; and those very Ages that were the Times of Ignorance in *Europe*, were the grand *Æra's* of Learning in *Africa* and *Egypt*. For in those Times there appear'd in those Parts a vast Multitude of Philosophers, who, by their Commentaries, conferr'd no small Honour on *Aristotle's* Doctrine in *Africa*, where it was very little known. The most eminent and most celebrated of these Philosophers, were, *Alfarabius*, *Algazel*, *Albunazar*, *Maimonides*, *Alkindus*, *Albefagar*, *Albencini*, or *Avicenna*, and *Averroes*. *Alfarabius* having found the Books of *Aristotle's* Physicks in *Mesopotamia*, read them Forty Times over; and

and after he had read them over so often, wrote at the End, *That he was ready to read them over again.* *Avicenna* and *Averroes* signaliz'd themselves beyond all others, not only by their Commentaries, but likewise by that Affection which from their Writings, they appear'd to have for the Person, as well as for the Doctrine of *Aristotle*: By which Means they advanc'd the Credit of this Philosopher to such a height, that Universities were founded for the teaching of the Philosophy of *Aristotle* at *Constantine*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, *Fez*, and *Morocco*. *Picus de Mirandula* assures us, that the *Arabs* had so great an Esteem for the Books of *Aristotle*, that when once they understood the true Value, and Intrinsick Worth of them, they forsook all others. 'Tis said that *Avicenna* learnt by Heart the Books of *Metaphysicks*, out of a great Affection he had for those Works, on which he set the most Value.

Pic. Mir.
l. 4. de
Van. Doct.

This was the State and Condition, in which these People beheld the Doctrine of *Aristotle* in those Parts, where their Government was uninterrupted for the Space of Five hundred Years, during which Time they were Masters of the World. For they extended their Conquests into *Spain*, where the *Moors* introduc'd an Affection for Learning. They founded a College at *Cordova*, which in succeeding Ages became famous; and the *Spaniards* brought along with them into *France* the Commentaries of *Avicenna* and *Averroes* on the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, which was then little known; but by reason of the different Tastes of these latter Ages, it met there with strange Revolutions and Adventures, as well as in *Italy*.

The Books of *Aristotle* having been brought into *France* about the Beginning of the Thirteenth

teenth Century by the *French* that took *Constantinople*, his Doctrine began to be publickly profess'd in the University of *Paris*, and continued to be taught there for some time. But there was found in that University a Person of a turbulent Spirit, named *Amaury*, who undertaking to justify his Extravagances by the Principles of *Aristotle*, which at that Time began to be taught, and whose *Physicks* he had read, was condemn'd for Heresie by a Council held at the same Place, in the Year 1209. The Books of *Aristotle* were burnt, and the Reading of them forbid upon Pain of Excommunication. The Truth is, this pretended Doctor held strange Absurdities; as for Instance, That God serv'd as a Form to the Matter of all Natural Beings, and that this Matter being uncreated, was Divine; and such like Chimæra's. These Errors were imputed to *Aristotle*, from whom he had taken his Principles, as they who knew nothing of this Philosophy imagin'd. Afterwards his Metaphysicks were condemn'd by that Assembly of Bishops which was conven'd at *Paris* under *Philip Augustus*; and six Years afterwards the Cardinal de *St. Esienne*, being sent to *France* in Quality of Legat by Pope *Innocent III.* delivered an Order from his Holiness to the Professors of the University, forbidding them to teach Natural Philosophy, which was confirmed sixteen Years afterwards by the Bull of *Gregory IX.* directed to the University of *Paris*. *Simon of Tournay*, a very famous Professor of Divinity in the said University. and *Peter de Dinant* Master of Arts, were both some time after accused of Heresie, for beeing too much addicted to the Opinions of *Aristotle*.

But whilst the Doctrine of this Great Man was thus in Disgrace, there were found at *Paris* three of the greatest Divines of that Time that began to honour him with their Commentaries, *Alexander d' Ales*, *Albert le Grand*, and *St. Thomas* his Scholar. *St. John Damascenus* was the first that opened the Way for them. For having made a very exact Abridgement of *Aristotle's* Logick and Morality, it did him signal Service in the putting into very good Order that Excellent Work of Divinity he has left us in those Four Books of the Orthodox Faith. 'Twas in this Plan, and after this Model, that *Peter Lombard*, near Four hundred Years after *St. Damascenus*, made so regular and orderly an Arrangement of the Opinions of the Fathers upon Divinity in his Book of Sentences. A Work *St. Thomas* brought to the greatest Perfection by copying so well after that great Original, of which *Damascenus* and the Master of the Sentences took the first Draught from *Aristotle*. But *St. Thomas* undertook to tread in their Steps, without observing their Method; for he proceeded after a very particular Manner, by which he became the Founder of that Scholastick Learning which was afterwards so much in Vogue, and which, in all Probability, he had at first from the *Arabs*. I do not pretend to affirm this as a certain Truth, or expect to have it credited upon my bare Word: It is an Opinion I submit to the Judgment of the Wise, as a Conjecture in which I might be mistaken.

I say then, that when *St. Thomas* appear'd in the World, it was about 400 Years that the *Arabs*, who were then the only Men of Learning in the World, that studied Philosophy,
and

and about One hundred since the Love of Literature was reviv'd in *Europe*. Those People whose Empire was as great as that of the *Romans* at least, for the Extent of their Conquests, which reach'd from the *Indies* even into *Spain*, imprinted in their *Genius* and their *Manners*, not only upon all their Subjects, but likewise on all People, with whom they had contracted any kind of Commerce, that is, on all *Europe*. And as their Studies were confin'd to their Religion, to the *Mathematicks*, and to *Philosophy*, and as they were unacquainted with the powers of *Eloquence*, and ignorant of the most curious Arts, *Painting* and *Ingraving* being prohibited them by their Law; so it is not to be much wonder'd at, that by the undisturb'd Contemplations of their Minds naturally Reflexive, they became so Speculative, and so well conversant in the *Metaphysicks*; and that they so much refin'd themselves by *Logick* and *Natural Philosophy*, which was their ordinary Study, and to which their Nature most inclin'd them. So that after Three hundred Years employ'd in studying and interpreting *Aristotle*, they had rendred that Sort of Study, and their own Commentaries very useful and necessary to the Christians in the *West*, where Learning was re-established towards the End of the Twelfth Century, at the Time that *Bagdat* was taken by the *Tartars*. The *Arabs* being the only Men of Letters in those Times, and having acquir'd a great Authority in the Learned World, had establish'd in all the Schools their own Methods of teaching: *St. Thomas* finding no other, took them, and was afterwards follow'd by all the Schoolmen. Thus those Barbarous Terms made use of by the late Philosophers, were, without doubt,

doubt, taken from *Avicenna*, and the other *Arabs*, to whom the Use of them was, without Dispute, natural and familiar; and these Terms, by Traduction, became from good *Arab*, as 'tis possible they were, to be very wretched *Latin*. It is not in the least to be question'd, but that this Philosophy was corrupted by its Conversation with these People, who were then Masters of it. It is likewise very credible, that if *St. Thomas* had known some other Method of teaching Philosophy, yet he wou'd have still kept to that he had taken from the *Arabs*, on purpose to confound their Pride, and let them see that the Catholick Religion might be defended from their Calumnies, even by their own Ways of Teaching and Following *Aristotle*, to whom they were so entirely devoted. Nor is it less probable, that this ill Taste of the *Arabs*, who understood very little of polite Learning, may have crept into the Schools of *Europe*, as that of the *Goths* has into Architecture, and other Arts.

It is likewise to be observed, that these People apply'd themselves to the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, rather than that of *Plato*, because they found the Doctrine of the former better establish'd than that of the latter among the *Greeks*, from whom they receiv'd the Sciences; as appears from *John Damascenus*, who was the first Christian Philosopher that liv'd under the Government of the *Mussulmans*: Besides, the very Genius of the *Arabs* contributed much towards their giving the Preference to *Aristotle* before *Plato*; the brisk and lively Strokes of Eloquence in the one, less affecting them, than the concise Stile and solid Reasons of the other. These are but Conjectures; and if I should appear to some too conceited in them,

I am

I am persuaded that I cou'd confirm them, at least stamp some Value upon them from the Authority of *St. Thomas*, and all the most Judicious Philosophers, who have much complain'd that the *Arabs* had corrupted Philosophy. In short, those Hands, through which *Aristotle* was convey'd into *Europe*, were not very clean, because those People did not well understand the *Greek* Tongue. But I return to the Adventures of *Aristotle* in the Univerfity of *Paris*.

There was a new Reformation fet on Foot in the Year 1366. by the Cardinals *St. Mark* and *St. Martin*, deputed by *Urban V.* for the Re-establiſhment of the Doctrine of *Aristotle* in *France*. It was agreed upon, that none ſhould be admitted Maſter of Arts, that had not been firſt examin'd in *Aristotle's* *Logick*, *Metaphyſicks*, and *Phyſicks*, and in his Books of the Soul. The Cardinal *d'Etoutevilli*, in the Year 1466. was deputed by *Charles* the Seventh to ſee theſe Rules obſerv'd, which had for ſome time been much neglected; and had a Commiſſion from the King to oblige the Profeſſors of Philosophy to ſtudy *Aristotle* with greater Diligence and Application, in order to retrieve the Splendor of the Univerfity of *Paris*, which began to be eclipsed by this Neglect.

In the Year 1447. Pope *Nicholas V.* who reſtor'd the Sciences in *Italy*, commanded the moſt able Men of his Time to make a new Tranſlation of the Works of *Aristotle*, for the Uſe of the Divines of the *Roman* Church. His Secretary *George of Trebiſonde*, a Learned Peripatetick, labour'd hard at it, having firſt ſignaliz'd himſelf under the Name of *Theodorus of Theſſalonica*, in the Diſputes he was engag'd in upon *Plato* and *Aristotle* with Cardinal *Bella-*

riou,

tion, and *Gemistus Plethon*. *Alphonfus of Arragon*, one of the most learned Princes that ever was, beginning to be acquainted with the Merit of *Aristotle*, from a Correspondence with his Commentators the *Moors* and *Arabs*, and above all from reading *Averroes*, after much Intreaty engag'd the Cardinal *Bessarion* to translate the *Metaphysics* of this Philosopher, which he did with good Success. And Pope *John XXII.* who canoniz'd *St. Thomas*, and immortaliz'd his Doctrine, rais'd the Glory of *Aristotle*, whose Principles this great Doctor of the Church had embrac'd. In fine, his Reputation became so universal throughout the World, that his Philosophy began to pass every where for the Rule and Model of all sorts of Philosophy.

But towards the End of the Fourteenth Century there was a great Refinement made of the Logick, by a furious Emulation that was rais'd upon the Doctrine of *Aristotle* between the *Nominals* and *Realists*, and between the *Thomists* and *Scotists*, who had great Contests among themselves, but both united to oppose the *Nominals*. These Disputes so divided most of the Universities of *Europe*, that that Character of Solidity, which was the essential Character of *Aristotle*, had almost vanished into Air by those Subtilties, which these refin'd Spirits had conceiv'd, and which in the End, by the Confusion of their Idea's and Reflections, corrupted the Purity of the Doctrine of this Philosopher. The great Field of Battel between the Scholars of *St. Thomas* and those of *Scotus*, was the *Univocation of a Being*; and the principal Subject of the Disputes between the *Nominals* and the *Realists*, was the *Distinction of Formalities*, which those pretended to be only

purely *Intellectual*, and these they would have to be *Real*. Every one took his side in these Sects, and in those that were form'd soon after, upon the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, according to the Engagements of Interest, Inclination, or Passion, and sometimes according to the Habit he wore: Those that were free and unprejudiced in favour of any Party, followed the universal Humour of the Age in which they liv'd. But their issued forth at this time such an Inundation of Writings upon Philosophy, that *Patricius*, a *Venetian* Philosopher, affirms, that there were reckon'd up more than Twelve thousand Volumes only upon the Philosophy of *Aristotle*: Of such an universal Contagion was the Itch of Writing and Refining upon Philosophy, and so fierce the Passion, as appears chiefly in that Heat and Emulation which was fomented amongst the Scholars of *St. Thomas* and *Scotus*, and the Followers of *Biel*, *Occam*, and *George of Arimini*.

And to such a Height was this Contention carried, through the Liberty of permitting all things to the Imagination of those that had the Art of spinning them to so fine a Thread, that the Doctrine of *Aristotle* was equally confounded amongst all these Parties. The Tumult, that was rais'd in all the Schools that resounded with his Name, serv'd only to drown his Voice to such a Degree that it cou'd hardly be distinguish'd. In short, this Philosophy was so disguis'd with *those Modal Entities*, *those Distinctions of Place Internal and External*, *that Physical Predetermination*, *those Precisions*, *those Reflex Intentions*, *that Univocation of a Being*, *those Explanative Parts*, *that Education of Material Forms*, and all those Novelties of the Modern Philosophy that it was scarce known any more. 'Tis true indeed

indeed, the Idleness and Laziness of the Age, and the ill Taste that was predominant, by reason of a profound Ignorance in polite Learning, and the excessive Fancy of Disputing, and the great Pleasure they took in tofing an Argument, had let the Reins so loose to those vain Subtilties, that Philosophy had almost lost all its Credit and Reputation. For by these Subtilties they made no Discoveries of Truth, but gave repeated Instances of their own Ostentation, and of a certain Spirit of Contradiction, which is the common and ordinary Character of Vanity; and as nothing more corrupted the ancient Philosophy than the false Subtilties of *Chrysippus*, which he had introduc'd into it; so nothing prov'd more prejudicial to the True Philosophy than the Refinement of some Moderns upon some Parts of it, who became afterwards celebrated in the Schools purely upon the Account of their Novelties. Thus the disorder'd and irregular Love and Affection which all Men had for *Aristotle*, every one contending to draw him off to their side, and bring him over to their Party, was none of his least Persecutions.

Yet after all, the Reputation of this Philosopher was establish'd upon so firm a Foundation in the University of *Paris*, and his Authority was grown so great, that they cou'd not pass by, unpunish'd, the Boldness of one of the Professors of that University, call'd *Ramus*; who, to give the World a Taste of his Wit and Ingenuity by some new Subtilties in Logick, had printed some Observations upon the Philosophy of *Aristotle* to lessen his Credit. The Noise of this being spread through the Schools, *Ramus* was accused by the rest of the Professors; and, by Letters Patents from *Francis the First*,

was condemn'd in the Year 1545. as guilty of Ignorance, Rashness and Impudence, in daring to write against *Aristotle*, with a Design to overturn the Order and Method establish'd in the University, where no other Doctrine was taught but that of this Philosopher. *Peter Galand* and *James Carpenter*, who were at that time two of the most learned in the University, wrote against him in Defence of *Aristotle*.

It has been always found, upon frequent Experience, that of all the Philosophers *Aristotle* has ever done us the most Service in the Defence of our Religion, which is in all Respects conformable to true Reason. 'Twas upon this score that the Doctors of the University of *Paris* made a new Order in the Year 1611, commanding the Professors to teach the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, in the Method they had prescrib'd.

In fine, the Parliament at *Paris*, in the Year 1624, upon the Request of the Faculty, condemn'd the *Theses* that were propos'd by some certain Persons in Opposition to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; and the same Parliament, in the Year 1629, gave Sentence against some extravagant Chymists, upon the Remonstrances of the *Sorbonne*, which held, that to oppose the Principles of *Aristotle's* Philosophy, was to oppose those of Scholastick Divinity receiv'd in their Church.

Such was the Reputation and Credit of this Philosophy in *France*, nor had it gain'd less Fame in other Parts, being establish'd in all the Universities of *Europe*, where no other Philosophy at present is taught but that of *Aristotle*. This Universal Consent of all Nations in their Esteem and Value for him, is a great Distinction

on of his Merit. For there is no Philosopher at this time receiv'd and entertain'd but he in the Universities of *Italy, Germany, Poland, England, Spain, Portugal, France* and the *Low-Countries*. In short, to conclude this Discourse, it may be affirm'd, that the Reputation the Doctrine of this Great Man has been in for these last Ages, has been the Standard to rate the Learning of the Times by. His worth has been best discover'd by those that have had Wit and Parts enough to understand him, and strength of Constitution sufficient to Study him with Application and Perseverance; and those Ages have been the most Celebrated for Learning, in which he has been most known. 'Tis true indeed, that there have been some Persons in these latter Days that have not spoke very favourably of him; amongst others *Picus de Mirandula* in his fourteenth and fifteenth Books of the *Vanity of Sciences*; *Patricius*, in his *Discussions*; *Vives*, in the *Causes of the Corruption of Arts*; *Bodin*, in his *Republick*; *Bacon, Galileo* and *Gassendus*, in their Treatises of Philosophy. But it is to be observ'd, that they were only a set of Men that were designing to make themselves the Heads of a Party, and draw new Schemes of Philosophy; as well as *Hobbs, Digby*, and *des Cartes*, who have rak'd together old Fragments of the Philosophy of *Democritus, Epicurus, Nicetas, Seleucus* and of some others amongst the Ancients, to make themselves Authors of a New Philosophy, which they cou'd not establish but upon the Ruines of *Aristotle*, the most renown'd of all.

We have seen the Rise of these New Models of Philosophy, and we shall see their Fall. It must be confess'd indeed, that *des Cartes* is become the most considerable, by the Merit and

Πάντες
σφισαι,
καὶ ἐπει-
κοι, καὶ
ῥήτορες.
Arist. in
Notis Ca-
saub. in
Laer.

Quality of some Persons that have honour'd him with their Protection, for which we ought to Respect him; it ought not to be suffer'd that some Upstarts, some superficial empty Fellows of that Party, well satisfied with their sudden and easie attainment to the Knowledge of some of the Principles of this Philosophy, which is level to the Sense of mean Capacities, shou'd look upon themselves as authoriz'd to treat *Aristotle* as a vile miserable Logician, and as one that deserv'd their Pity, because they understood him not. *Casaubon*, who was one of the greatest Criticks of this Age, observes in his Notes on *Diogenes Laertius*, that never any but Sophists and Half-witted People talk'd ill of *Aristotle*; and he confirms his Opinion from that of an Ancient Philosopher, who had said the same thing of the Sophists and Low-spirited Fellows of his time. And indeed, *Aristotle's* Philosophy is an Abyss of immense Profundity, impenetrable to mean Spirits, and not to be look'd down into in cold Blood without Horrour. *Themisthius* assures us, that it is impossible to understand or explain *Aristotle* well, without having first deriv'd from him a share of his Spriteliness of Wit and Fancy, and of his Judgment, in order to fix our Minds entirely upon Reason, without being prejudic'd or prepossess'd in favour of any particular Opinion. And this may serve as a Rule to Judge by, of those that interpose as Arbitrators to decide his Merit and his Doctrine without knowing either the one or the other.

Upon which account, I cannot but lament his misfortune for the Injury and Injustice he has had done him; for he is seldom read but through his Interpreters, of which the greatest Part make large Discourses upon the Subjects their

their Master treats of, without duly considering his Words as *Eudemus* the *Rhodian*: others have explain'd him by Abridgments and Epitomes, as *St. John Damascenus*, *Psellus* and *Pachymeres*; others again have made Paraphrases on his Text, as the *Arabs*, and several other Commentators. These different ways of Interpreting him, have given rise to that Variety of strange Opinions they impute to him, and to that Confusion that was amongst most of his Followers, who knew nothing of the true and real *Aristotle*, by reason of those many Explanations with which his Doctrine is so much disguis'd, and those different Interpretations, with which his Text has been corrupted by the Commentators of these latter Ages. And it may be affirm'd, upon very certain Grounds, that nothing has so much authoriz'd the new Opinions, as that scandalous Practice of rendering the Philosophy of *Aristotle* by retail, a thing of late brought up by some Contemplative Men that have pretended themselves the most devout Followers of his Doctrine. It is likewise very probable, that the World wou'd not have so run after the Modern Philosophy, but out of that little Satisfaction it met with in that taught now a-days under the Name of *Aristotle*. And this Disorder and Confusion still continues, because the greatest Part of those that teach the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, copy one from another without consulting the Original, without deriving his Doctrine from its pure Fountain.

And though it seems to be in vain to oppose these Disorders, which have taken such deep Root from the ill Taste of the Men of the last Age, and from that natural Laziness of the dull and flegmatick *Spaniards*, which has authoriz'd

οἱ σοφιστῶν
 ὡς τὸ
 λόγοι
 συμβεβη-
 κὸς μάλιστα
 πάντων
 πότερον
 ἕτερον ἢ
 ταυτὸν
 μουσικὸς
 Κορίσκος
 καὶ Κορίσ-
 κος.
 Metaph.
 l. 6. c. 2.
 Lucian. in
 Hermoti-
 mo.

thoriz'd them by their too Abstracted and Me-
 taphysical Speculations; yet it were much to
 be wish'd that, in order to a Re-establishment
 of the true Doctrine of *Aristotle* in its Purity,
 those who have an Esteem and Veneration for
 his Philosophy, wou'd take the pains to Study
 it in its Simplicity, either as it was writ by
 himself, or as it was explain'd by his first Com-
 mentators. For by this means they might un-
 derstand the true Thoughts of this Philosopher,
 without any the least Mistake; and distinguish
 his Maxims from his Problems, and his Decisi-
 ons from his Doubts, without Confusion. We
 shall find, if we do but reflect a little, that all
 these Distinctions purely Intellectual, the *For-
 malities*, and these *Precisions* introduc'd into
 the Schools, are not upon any account con-
 formable to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; for he
 himself, in several places of his Metaphysicks,
 mentions them as the Refinements of the So-
 phists: For, says he, *It belongs only to the So-
 phists to examine whether Coriscus, and Coriscus
 the Musician be the same Man or not.* He repeats
 the same thing, in several other places of his
 Metaphysicks; by which it appears how much
 he avoids these empty trifling Imaginations,
 whereon the Sophists ground their most com-
 mon Speculations; for which *Lucian* bitterly
 rails at the Philosophers of his time, who amus'd
 themselves with Toys, and disputing about
 Words and Names rather than about Things,
 pleas'd themselves with the Shell, and lost the
 Nut. 'Tis true indeed, by mixing these Me-
 taphysical Reasonings indiscriminately with
 Morality and Divinity, those Sciences are cor-
 rupted, being not qualified to receive them by
 reason of their natural Solidity and Simpli-
 city.

Before I conclude, I cannot omit to mention some things, for which, *Aristotle* has been severely reflect'd on, and from which it will be no very difficult Matter to justify him. I am sensible, and readily agree, that he is not Infallible, being but a Man as others are; and I acknowledge, likewise, that he is mistaken in many things, but I cannot but be very much surpriz'd, that some worthy Men as *Picus de Mirandula*, *Patricius*, *Gassendus*, and such others shou'd censure him as a Trifler, and that he had committed gross Errors in *Geography*, *Astronomy*, *Meteorology*, in his History of *Animals*, and in several other Parts of his Works. 'Tis true, he believ'd that the World was more Elevated towards the *North*, than any where else; that the *Danube* had its Spring among the *Pyrenean* Mountains; that there were no Arteries in the Waste; and that the Heart was the Principle of the Nerves and not the Brain, as *Galen* observes to his Disgrace. In short, he is deceiv'd in many things, and all the most eminent Men in the World have been so; and the Respect that is due to the Greatness of their *Genius*, ought to keep us from cavilling upon every little Fault, since these very Mistakes in small and inconsiderable Matters, are often as so many Instances of their Diligence and Application in things of greater Moment, and more Essential. And besides all this, 'tis most certain, that in Progress of time, *Mathematical Instruments* for the Observation of the Stars, *Microscopes*, *Chymistry*, the frequent Dissections of *Animals* to know the Construction of their Parts, and several other Modern Arts have contributed very much to the Discovery of the Secrets of Nature, which *Aristotle* cou'd not know; and he ought in all Reason to have

Justice

*Galen de
util. Ref.
pir.*

Justice done him, since his Ignorance in these things proceeded from a want of proper Means. If *Ptolemy*, *Julius Caesar*, *Sosigenes*, *Clavius*, and some of the Moderns, in a long Tract of time have found out some Errors in the Computations, the ancient Astronomers made of the Course of the Moon, Sun, and other Stars, in which we are deceiv'd so little; what mighty wonder is it that Experience has discover'd Faults in *Aristotle*, in those things in which we are daily deceiv'd, by reason of the Uncertainty of their Foundation?

But there are other more essential Faults, for which he is censur'd; as the Impossibility of the Creation, by maintaining that Principle, *that nothing can be produc'd out of nothing*. As that, the World is Eternal; that the Providence of God is so confin'd to Celestial Things; that it extends not to Sublunary; that Matter has a Desire and natural Inclination to perfect it self into Form; and in short, that Notion of the Education of Material Forms out of Matter, as a Subject of it self Existent, which has puzzled all the Naturalists in the World to comprehend. But it wou'd be no difficult matter to Answer all these Calumnies, unjustly thrown upon *Aristotle*, were it our business to represent him without the least Fault, which I do not by any means pretend to do. For in the first Place, as to that Principle which overturns the Creation of the World, it is plain, that *Aristotle* believ'd it no farther than as it held true in the ordinary Generation of natural Beings. Secondly, as to the Eternity of the World 'tis very probable, that he did not believe it in its strictest and most limited Sense; for in his *Topicks*, he lays down a Problem, which, if it was his real Thoughts, he must have been mistaken

mistaken concerning the Eternity of the Heavens, which he proves from their incorruptibility, being at that time unacquainted with any corruptible Qualities which he found out afterwards. Thirdly, if he did not believe Providence to have been such as in effect it is, 'tis not much to be wonder'd at, since he was devoid and destitute of the Blessings of Faith, without which we can neither Speak nor Think as we ought to do of God. As to the natural Tendency of Matter to Perfection, we ought not to impute it to *Aristotle*, since his Commentators represent him sometimes too strongly, and sometimes too faintly, asserting it. 'Tis too well known, that the *Arabs* began first to corrupt his Doctrine by false Explications; as may be gather'd from that Eduction of Forms out of Matter, which is ascrib'd to *Aristotle*, though he thought no more of it, than of the Physical Premotion in things Moral, which indeed, he believ'd to be necessary, as in effect it is in things Natural. There are many things still remaining to be said of this great Man, which I must be oblig'd to omit, because I wou'd conclude and see what benefit may be made of this large Discourse, from the following Reflections.

C H A P. II.

Some Christian Reflections on this Discourse.

1. **W**E cannot undoubtedly, after all that has been said throughout this whole Discourse, but be easily convinc'd, that humane Reason never shone forth with so much natural Force and Vigour, as in *Plato* and *Aristotle*. Most certain it is, that by the Power of their natural Faculties, they had div'd so far into the most impenetrable Abyss of Nature, that scarce any thing seems to have escap'd their View. Upon what pretence then shou'd we so critically and with so much curiosity observe and mark the false Glimmerings of their Lights, and the Unsteadiness of their Conduct? a thousand Ages, and a thousand Lives, will never produce any thing that can be commensurate to the Extent of their almost immense Capacities. And, since these noble Souls were themselves mistaken in many things, is it not the most unpardonable piece of Presumption for meaner Spirits, for Men of more contracted Capacities, to imagine that they cannot err? can any one see the Weakness of that Reason, which appear'd so sublime in these great Men, and not to be distrustful of his own?

2. There is nothing that will give us a better Idea of the Weakness of the Spirit of Man than the History of the *Agyptians*. They were a People the Wisest, and the most Understanding, the most Illuminated of any

in the World. All the Kingdoms of the Earth pay'd Homage to their Learning; and whoever had a desire to be conversant in Letters, went into *Ægypt* to be instructed. The *Greeks* deriv'd all their Knowledge from the Conferences they had with this People. They were likewise endow'd with such a great and generous Soul, conceiv'd such vast Designs, and entertain'd such boundless Thoughts, that their Kings erected Edifices of the most stately Magnificence, such as the World had never seen before: One of their Kings built a *Pyramid* near *Memphis*, on which he had continually at work three hundred thousand Men for twenty Years together. And yet notwithstanding all the Advantages they had of a superlative Degree of natural Light, notwithstanding their Greatness of Soul, to what extravagancies of Superstition did they suffer themselves to be carried, in matters of Religion; debasing themselves to a gross Worship of the most ridiculous Deities that can be imagin'd! so true is it, that Reason alone is not to be our Guide in the Grand Concerns of God and Religion.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 36. c. 12.

3. The Purity and Delicacy of our Faith is so transcendent, that I will not intermix its own Lights with those of Reason. *Origen* became an Heretick, by being too confident in maintaining the Doctrine of *JESUS CHRIST*, by the Philosophy of *Plato*: *Tertullian* laps'd into the Errors of the *Montanists*, by being too much carried away with the Morals of the *Stoicks*, which inspir'd him with that Spirit of Severity, by which he fell. This brought the Philosophy of *Plato* and *Aristotle* under so much Suspicion among the Primitive Christians, by reason of the Disorders it caus'd in those that were too much affected with it.

There

There is requir'd in a Christian, Humility and Submission, whereas Philosophy inspires us with Pride and Presumption. Our Religion could not be Supernatural, as it is, were it capable of being subject to the Guidance and Conduct of Natural Reason.

4. If the Principles of Heathen Philosophy, clear and enlightned as it was, appear'd too weak to maintain any Communication with the Principles of our Faith; if the Light of the one, was too faint to be in conjunction with the Light of the other: What Judgment ought we to make of those Mean Spirits, those Little Souls, that, intruding and interposing in all Controversies, pretend to Reason upon every Thing, before they have so much as begun to know what True Reason is. There requir'd a long Tract of Time, a Series of many Ages, to Rectify, by many Proofs and repeated Trials, the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, e'er it could be render'd indirectly serviceable to our Faith; and yet a Libertine, just sprung up, and one that had seen nothing of the World, shall have the Impudence to pretend, to bring within the Compass of that Poor Share of Sense he enjoys, the most Incomprehensible Mysteries of our Religion.

Omnes veteres nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt; angustos sensus, imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vite, &c. Cicero, Quest. Acad. l. i.

5. All the Wiest of the Ancient Philosophers, believ'd that they knew nothing. And in reality, the Uncertainty of our Senses, which are so Treacherous; the Natural Infirmities that depress the Spirit of Man, and those common Obscurities that cloud his Understanding, the Weakness of the Faculties of his Soul, the Tumult and Hurry of his Passions, and the Invincible Prejudices of Education, Custom and Opinion, have so effectually

all those Footsteps, so erac'd all those Marks

and Characters of Truth that remain'd in Man, that the most Common Secrets of Nature appear Inconceivable, even to the Wisest and most Knowing. The Spider's Web, confounds us; the Art of a Silk Worm, or Bee, surpasses our Apprehension; a Fly or an Ant, are Mysteries we cannot dive into. In short, Man knows nothing perfectly of the most Minute Things that may be discover'd in Nature: And yet this Ignorant, Contemptible Creature shall presume, with the greatest Confidence, to set himself in Heaven, and there erecting for himself a Tribunal above the Throne of GOD himself, search into the Secrets of the Divine Essence, and pass Judgment upon what is difficult to comprehend, in the Nature of that Eternal Being.

6. We can find nothing that we can depend upon, as an undoubted Certainty, even in things that lie most expos'd to our View: We cannot determine precisely, whether the Earth, on which we tread, moves under our Feet. After all, the Books that have been written upon this Subject. and after almost Two Thousand Years Dispute, 'tis a Question still to be decided; and yet we pretend to know what is most conceal'd from us, and to understand what is most Incomprehensible. One Man cannot Judge of the Thoughts of another, without Mistake; and yet he shall have the Vanity, to think that he is able to Judge of the Irreversible Decrees of the Divine Will; and dive into the Secrets of the Almighty, without Deception. We suffer our selves to be surpriz'd, in all the Judgments we make of Things; our Fear, Desire, Inclination and Interest, prevent, or draw us on; and our Senses themselves are so subject

*Non decet
humano ju-
dicio divi-
na penetra-
ri.* Tertul.

*And hard-
ly do we
guess a-
right at
things that
are upon
the Earth,
and with
labour do
we find the
things that
are before
us; but the
things that
are in Hea-
ven, who
has search-
ed out?
Wisd. of
Sol. c. 9.
v. 16.*

*Quod est
ante pedes
nemo vi-
det, & cæli
scrutamur
plagas. Ex
Pacuvio.*

to

to be deceiv'd, so liable to be impos'd upon, even in things most sensible, in things that are their True and Proper Objects, that certainly we cannot trust them in things that are not so, without being guilty of the greatest Extravagance.

7. Of all Natural Truths, there is none so deeply engraven upon the Heart of Man, none imprinted upon his Soul in such Indelible Characters, as that of the Being of a GOD. Whatever presents it self to our Sight, carries its own Arguments along with it, and easily engages our Assent to it: And there is nothing in all Morality, about which we meet with so general an Agreement of Opinions, as concerning the Existence of a Deity: all Times, all Nations, and all Schools have concurr'd in a firm Belief of this Sacred Truth. *Plato* and *Aristotle*, the most Profound of all the Philosophers, discover'd this Truth, amidst even the thickest Darknes of Paganism; and both have given such clear and infallible Demonstrations of it, as have been received by all Posterity with universal Approbation. *Plato* has prov'd the Existence of a Sovereign Being, from the *Idea* of the Maker of this World, which is a Work of an Intelligent Being; as one may prove the Existence of an Architect, from the Palace he has built. And *Aristotle*'s proves a God, from the Necessity of a First Mover. This *Avicenna* look'd upon, as the most convincing Demonstration of any in *Aristotle*; which that Philosopher begins, as *Avicenna* pretends, at the end of the eighth Book of his *Physicks*, and concludes at the end of the twelfth Book of his *Metaphysicks*. The greatest *Genius*'s of Antiquity, *Pythagoras*, *Hippocrates*, *Socrates*, *Theophrastus* and *Galen*, who

had studied Nature with the utmost Application, cou'd not comprehend the Order and Oeconomy of Things, without a God. In short, the Intimate Connexion of the most Solid Reasons, sustaining and supporting one another by a mutual Dependence upon each other; the Purity of the Christian Morality, the Sublimity of our Mysteries, the Holiness of our Ceremonies, the Sacred Scriptures, the Accomplishment of all the Prophecies in the Old Testament, the Blood of so many Martyrs, and the Consent of all the Men of Learning that ever flourish'd in the World, confirm this Truth; a Truth not in the least contested, unless by those that are immers'd in Sensuality, and over-stock'd with Impudence and Ignorance.

8. This Truth appears still more evident, from the Extravagant Absurdity of the contrary Opinion. There is nothing in Nature so Monstrous as Atheism; 'tis an Irregularity of the Mind, caus'd by excess of Debauchery: No Prudent, Sober, Wise Man, ever in the least doubted of Religion. It must be some Mean, Low-spirited Fellow, puffed up with the Success of some Sonnet or Love-Song, which has met with Applause in the World, that can be so sottish as to imagine, that 'tis Genteel, and more according to the Mode, to Doubt of all Religion, than to believe any. Some Debauchee, that has never had his Head free from the Fumes of his Liquor, nor his Understanding unclouded and serene, so as to judge wholesomely of any thing. Some Courtier, that never search'd to the Bottom of Things, and knows nothing of Learning, but what he has met with in a few Chapters of *Montaigne*, or in a few broken Periods of *Charon*. It must

be some False Pretender to Wisdom, that has neither Prudence nor Conduct, but in the Management of his own Trifling Affairs; whose Business and Grand Concern it is, to make an Outward Show, a Specious Appearance in the World, and whose whole Life is a meer Comedy. Some Woman transported with her own Merit and Beauty, and devoted to Pleasure, who has no Soul, but what is inspir'd into her by Lewdness and Debauchery. In short, all the Corruption of Manners, all the Weakness of Reason, all the Disorders and Irregularities of the Mind of Man, have ever combin'd to oppose what Faith teaches us concerning GOD, and his Existence; whilst Probity, Good Sense, Equity, and Solidity of Judgment, submit to this Belief. And is it likely, that those, whose Understandings are debauch'd, and Minds corrupted, shou'd know more, and be better instructed in Matters of Religion, than those whose Manners are pure and unblameable?

*Est in ip-
sis rebus
obscuritas,
& in ju-
diciis no-
stris infir-
mitas.
Cicero,
Quaest. A-
cad. l. 4.*

9. Man is of himself but Weakness and Ignorance; and the Debauchee is weaker, and more ignorant than other Men; because more a Slave to his Passions, and less intent and fix'd upon any thing. Religion is in its own Nature, and according to its Character, somewhat intricate and obscure. These are Three Reasons of sufficient force to suppress the Rashness of the Judgments of the Impious, or at least to suspend their Precipitation and Levity.

10. 'Tis true, 'tis the greatest Insolence in the Spirit of Man, rather to deny what he cannot comprehend, than to acknowledge with Submission and Modesty what he is utterly ignorant of. But what wou'd become of all

all natural Truths, which are to us unconceivable, if what is incomprehensible is not true? And certainly this Incredulity is rather the Effect of the Vanity of Man, than of his Weakness and Ignorance; and this Vanity works so strongly upon the Senses, that the Libertine thinks he performs a meritorious Act, in condemning what all the World besides approves of; and having once got that Notion in his Head, that 'tis a Shame to give his Assent to any thing before 'tis well prov'd to him, he is easily persuaded, that 'tis a piece of Wit and Gallantry, rudely to deny what all Mankind acknowledges as an undoubted Truth.

11. Man, though so free and independent, yet always finds at the Bottom of his Heart such a natural Aptitude, and so strong an Inclination to acknowledge a Sovereign Being above himself, and to depend thereon; that he chuses rather to frame to himself ridiculous and impertinent Gods, wanting Light to direct him to the true one, than to live without such a dependence. He debases himself to an Adoration even of the very brute Beasts, o'er which he is, by right of Creation, Lord and Master, and by this Homage thus paid to these brute Idols, he acknowledges something that is a Conferrer of Good, a Shadow at least of the Divinity. This so general a Consent of all the People in the Belief of a God, that none were ever found destitute of it, is an Instinct of Nature, and cannot be false, by reason of its Universality. What a Madness then is it to hearken to the extravagant Opinion of two or three Libertines at most, that in every Age have denied the Divinity, that they might indulge themselves in their Debaucheries with less disturbance.

12. Is it to be imagin'd, that an Opinion so universal and so strongly imprinted upon Nature, can be an Illusion ? Are those Terrors which torment the Consciences of wicked Men, those trembling and dismal Fears that attend all Crimes, that holy Dread and Horror which we feel when we approach any Place where there is but the least Footsteps of Sanctity ; those tender Comforts good Souls enjoy in the Practice of Virtue ; are all these vain Images, the pure Effects of nothing but Fancy and Imagination ? The Pleasure that results from a Performance of our Duties, is it a false Pleasure ? and the Joy of a good Conscience, is it a false Joy ?

13. What can the Libertine urge in Opposition to the general Consent of all Time and all People, to balance this Belief ? What sufficient Reason can he give to the contrary ? He, I say, all whose Reason to support and defend his Impieties, is only a Doubt and scruple rais'd in the Midst of a Debauch ; and all whose Disputes are at best but a confus'd Medley of Idea's, not to be born with by any Men of Sense. For when Men will be so perverse and obstinate, as not to assent to what all the World besides believe, they are sometimes brought to take up with the most incredible things in Nature ; because the Mind of Man can no longer retain a Sense of any thing when it once becomes insensible of this general Impression, which the Belief of a God has made upon Nature ; nor can this Impression, as have already observed, be false, because 'tis stamp'd upon all Mankind.

14. The greatest Honour Man can render to God, is to prostrate himself at the Feet of his Authority, believing whatever he has said because

cause he has said it ; and all the Glory we can give him, is an entire Submission to his most Holy Will ; and this is a Sign and Token, and a Character of the greatest Respect and Reverence paid by Man to God. Thus did *Pythagoras* his Scholars honour their Master, receiving his Answers as plenary Determinations of the Question in Dispute ; and never doubting more, after he had once spoke. And were we but as good Christians, as *Pythagoras* his Scholars were *Pythagoreans*, who not only assented, with an entire Submission, to whatever their Master had laid down, but committed themselves to the Flames with him, we should be far better Men than we are : And surely *Christ Jesus* has deserv'd infinitely more of us, than ever *Pythagoras* did of his Scholars.

15. When this Barrier of Faith is once broken down, the Spirit of Man wandreth up and down, and knows no Bounds. 'Tis Faith alone that can determine and fix the natural Inquietude of his Curiosity. On what Principle can he form his Manners, when this is once destroy'd ? All the Deductions he can make from Experience, Custom, Education, and Natural Science, will prove useles to him. His Knowledge will serve only to perplex and confound him ; and though he desir'd nothing more than to have his share of Reason ; yet unless that Reason submitted itself to Faith, its Dictates wou'd be less obey'd than those of Sensuality and Passion.

16. Philosophers, especially Naturalists, Chymists, Geometricians, and Physicians, by accustoming their Minds to the Knowledge of things that are the Objects of the Senses, have render'd themselves very incapable of submit-

ting to the Faith. We corrupt our selves through vain Philosophy, by reasoning too much, and raising Disputes upon every thing.

17. We ought to know how to distinguish the Knowledge of things by their Principles; that is, to know Sensible things by Sense, Intellectual by Reason, Supernatural and Divine things by Faith. These Rules cannot be displac'd without great Confusion, and that Confusion is the Source and Original of Libertinism. We must, forsooth, apply the Rule of Sense to things of Reason, and the Rule of Reason to things of Faith. *Plato* never confounds these Rules, as appears from his *Timæus*, where he says, *That we ought not to engage in Disputes about Matters that relate to God, but to yield our unfeigned Assent to them.* We can never be deceiv'd if we make but a right use of these Principles, which we must necessarily do, if we would judge aright of things, and speak the Truth.

18. That Calmness of the Passions, that Tranquillity of Irregular Desires, and that undisturb'd Peace and Quiet of the Wise Man, which the Heathens have vainly sought after, is no where to be found but in the Christian Morality. That Uprightness and Integrity, which it teaches, carries along with it something that is so real and solid, that if it be as true, that Justice is better than Injustice, Faithfulness than Perfidiousness, Good Manners than Ill, as it is that one and one make two; then is the Christian Religion likewise, which makes a greater Profession of all these Virtues, and condemns, with severer Penalties, all these Vices, than any other Religion, the most so-
lid,

lid, the most perfect, and the truest of all the Religions that ever were in the World.

19. Our Religion falls in better with the Philosophy of *Aristotle* than any other whatever, because it is the most reasonable; from whence it appears that our Belief is true Wisdom, since it is not only entirely conformable to Reason, but it is likewise accommodated to the most excellent of all Human Wisdom, the Philosophy of *Aristotle*.

20. *Plato* drew a Scheme of Government the most perfect in *Idea*, and the most accomplish'd that ever was; but this Plan, this Model of his, was never follow'd by any, nor cou'd the *Idea* of his admirable Policy ever be put in Practice. Whereas the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, that were Men without Learning, without Power, and without Authority, have overturn'd the *Athenian* Government, and the *Roman* Empire, and all the whole World have believ'd their Doctrine. They establish'd a new Religion, for which so many Martyrs lost their Blood, and which has been embrac'd by all Mankind, though at first it appear'd so opposite to Sense and Worldly Policy.

21. In the Professions we make, or ought to make of Philosophy, there are two Extremes to be avoided, the one of siding with one particular Party, the other of being indifferently of all Parties; and both are equally blameable. 'Tis inconvenient to devote our selves entirely up to one Philosophy, and to follow one Opinion, be it either through Chance, or because the Circumstances of Life lay a strong Engagement upon us, or upon the Account of the Habit we wear, or the Cabal we are of; because this is to give our selves up to Reason, not for its own sake, but

for the Colour or Figure under which it appears. We expose our selves, by such Conduct, to those Railleries we meet with in *Cicero* against the Philosophers of his Time; *who*, says he, *were*

Ad quam- carried away as the Storm dropt them, as in a Tem-
cunque dis- pest Men lay hold on that Rock to which the Waves
ciplinam hurry them. But there is Danger too in not fol-
velut tem- lowing some Opinion; because we are liable
pestiate de- to be either too incredulous and sceptical, or
lati, ad too delicate, and nice; and to fix on nothing,
eam tan- too disposes us to doubt of every thing. 'Tis for
*quam ad this very Reason, that the *Pyrrhonists* and the*
saxum ad- Scepticks are look'd upon as the most extra-
herefcunt. vant of all Philosophers, who, out of a meer
Cic. Quæst. Vanity, make their boast of believing nothing;
Acad. 4. and, being of a mean base Spirit, love rather to
wander and rove from Opinion to Opinion, than
fix upon any thing that is real and solid.

22. That Philosophy which improves not a Man's Reason, is a false Philosophy; and that Reason which makes not a Man tractable and submissive, is a false Reason. The Faith of him that reasons least, and that disputes but seldom, is the most pure and the truest; and a simple harmless Country-Fellow that is submissive, and of a teachable Temper, well prepar'd to receive the Precepts of Religion, is preferable to *Plato* or *Aristotle* in the sight of God himself; as we may see from that Attestation so displeasing to great Spirits, from that humble Confession, which the Blessed *Jesus* once made to his Father with so great a Sense of Piety and Joy, rendring him Thanks for that he had done. *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, because, thou hast hid those things from the Wise and Prudent, and hast revealed them unto Babes. Even so, Father, for it seem'd good in thy Sight.*

Matth.
 c. 11. v. 25,
 26.

23. There is no Man that has any Degree of Wisdom and Prudence, that can be so harden'd as to withstand all these Prejudices, to shut his Eyes upon such lovely Prospects, and to run headlong against such a Multitude of Truths, upon no other Foundation than the Extravagancy of his own capricious Humour, and the Uncertainty of his own shallow Reason; when his Faith is at stake, and 'tis to be decided what he ought, and what he ought not to believe. But if a Man be already sunk into such a desperate State and Condition, as to be blind amidst so many Lights, and deaf to so many Voices, which from every side present him with a God and a Religion, which from every Quarter proclaim the Author of Nature, and the Worship that is due to him, from whence can this Stupidity arise but from his Passions, which darken his Mind and harden his Heart? These are the common Springs of these ill-founded Jealousies, and of all these Irresolutions, which a vitiated Conscience forms against Religion. The first Step to Doubt and Scepticism, is taken from the Interest Men have in pursuing the Natural Bent of their Inclinations. The Morals of a Religion, that condemns Pleasure, will not go down with them; they had rather have never heard of such a System of Morality, than offer the least Violence to their Darling Passions. Deplorable Conduct this! for a Man to oppose a Belief, which cannot be establish'd by any other Methods than by a War against himself, and an entire Defeat of his perverse Inclinations.

24. But 'tis the Misfortune of deluded Man to make use of the Force of his Reason to encounter with his Duty, and to support and main-

maintain his Doubts and Scruples; for 'tis these that give Authority to his irregular Desires, and Entertainment to his Passions. The Irregularity of the Heart is the Natural Source and Spring of the Irregularity of the Mind. An innocent Heart, supported by the most inimitable Purity of Manners, and by the most perfect Integrity and Sincerity of Life, pursues its Duty without ever losing sight of it; and true Probity never swerves into perverted Principles. 'Tis the Infection of a Soul tainted with Vice that spreads it self over the Mind, and breaths into it these fatal Irresolutions, which hurry him on to the Brink of Destruction by subverting his Principles, and misguiding his Reason. This is the prime Source of Irreligion, the Rise of which appears to the Libertine so full of Shame and Dishonour, that, notwithstanding he is so entirely devoted to his Pleasures, it proves by no means agreeable to him. In order therefore to lay a Foundation for Tranquillity, which is extremely necessary towards the making Life sweet, he thinks of nothing less than of confirming his Doubts, which he will have pass for well-rai'd Scruples, under a pretence that the Difficulties he meets with, in assenting to the Matters of Religion, proceed from no other Spring than his own Understanding, from no other Fountain than his own Reason, the Light of which he prefers to all others. This Malady of Incredulity grows upon Men in proportion, as they strengthen themselves in these Opinions. 'Tis not to the Disorders of the Heart that they ascribe these Disorders of the Mind; they are become so insensible as not to perceive from what Sources this Irregularity springs. The Heart it self is for

over

overwhelm'd with Darkness, arising from the Passions, that it knows not its own proper Course, being in all its Movements wholly actuated by secret and insensible Springs, which hurry it on to the pursuit of Objects without the least Reflection, and almost without Knowledge. These are the Paths which commonly lead to Impiety, which commonly proceeds from a Corruption of the Heart; and 'tis a Distemper without a Remedy, at least Man cannot in any reasonable time bring himself to the Study of himself, by sober Reviews and serious Reflections upon the Conduct of his Life. This is a Task that admits of so much Difficulty, that it is almost impossible not to err in the Undertaking, because the Heart so confounds all its Motions with those of the Mind, that it knows not it self what part it acts, and so is hurried on with a full Career into Libertinisin and Licentiousness, without perceiving it self to have any share in this fatal Proceeding.

25. The sole Remedy for this Disorder is Philosophy well digested; the true design of which is to rectifie the Reason. This is its Province, and this its Employment. It's final Aim is properly to inspire Man with true Wisdom, which is to be met with only in the true Religion. For this alone is the way to the Attainment of that Felicity, and of that Repose, which can never cease to be, and which is the ultimate End of all human Actions. All other Wisdom is false, because it leads to nothing of Substance and Duration. Thus these Modern Schemes of Philosophy, which sow in the Mind the Seeds of Scepticism, and Infidelity, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, by the Destruction of substantial Forms; which

which give new Idea's, and infuse different Notions from what have been received from the first Impressions of Education, when regulated by the Principles of Faith: And which lastly form new Systems of Morality and Religion, are of fatal Consequence to a State, where Virtue and Reason should bear the sway. Let us therefore adhere to that Philosophy, which is already establish'd upon the Foundation of Faith and cultivate and improve it only as will serve to authorize and confirm our Religion.

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